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points. First let us consider exchange partners as though they are strangers, with distinct destinies and personal interests, who decide to seek an alliance with one another for reasons which may range from psychological attraction to economic expediency. From this viewpoint the establishment and maintenance of a social relationship is always problematical and incomplete. The problem of how social exchange can ever get started has been a subject of speculation not only for social scientists but also for the Melanesians themselves.[1] In the Orokaiva folk-system the starting mechanism of an exchange system is presented in the form of a myth recounting a unique free gift made by a demi-god whereby the exchange cycle was set in motion. Historical change is represented by the emergence of a new demi-god setting up new exchange cycles. Once the relationship is started, it is composed of a perpetual cycle of exchanges between the two partners.

We may call this view of exchange phenomenological because it starts from *ego's* experience of a social relationship. *Ego* experiences *alter's* world as transcendant. As Husserl and Schutz have pointed out, social relations are necessarily based on an idealisation of the 'interchangeability of standpoints' (Schutz 1967: 126, 312–29). For that reason they are always to some extent precarious and incomplete. If our method of ethnography is to go beyond pure phenomenology, we also need to view exchange from a second viewpoint which I shall call analytical. From this viewpoint, it is impossible to conceive of the making, receiving and reciprocating of gifts by individuals in any culture unless that culture has conceptualised in some way the complementarity of donor and receiver. This notion of complementarity is inseparable from all our discourse about giving and receiving. For instance, in the present work I shall write a good deal about the exchange relationships between mother's brother and sister's son, husband and wife, son-in-law and father-in-law, friend and friend, creditor and debtor, victor and vanquished. Not only have the patterns of relationship linking these dyads been laid down by Orokaiva custom, but the complementary nature of these relationships is already implicit in the words I have used to describe them.

Although one might, with Nadel (1957), describe these dyads as logically related *roles*, this could give the impression that I am concerned merely with a set of rights and obligations that the role partners have *vis-à-vis* each other. The present work, however, deals with economic and psychological as well as normative aspects of dyadic relations. In a study of corporate groups, one must assume that exchanges between a dyad (*Ego* and *Alter*) are determined by corporate obligations. In a study of exchange systems, however, one must assume that the exchanges are in principle voluntary, and that normative rules specify no more than a code of behaviour by means of which it is commonly believed that *Alter* may be induced to do what *Ego* wants. (This desired object is often no more than the establishment or maintenance of a social relationship.) There are often no positive rules obliging A to fit in with E's wishes if E performs some specific act of liberality. For reasons shown in detail in later chapters, I prefer to think of acts of giving as magical rather than as obligating devices. I do not thereby question the importance of norms in explaining social regularities. Magic certainly contains norms: acts which are regularly performed to bring about certain ends because such acts are thought to be especially effective in eliciting a generous response.

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2. *Folk Explanations of Exchange*

Having noted how the Orokaiva diagnose cases of social conflict, let us now explore the social philosophy underlying these diagnoses. My argument will be in three steps. First, I shall restate in a more generalised form the Orokaiva ideas hinted at in the previous section; secondly, I shall express these ideas in the form of a more abstract model; thirdly, I shall show how the Orokaiva justify their ideas in terms of their own religio-philosophic system.

Orokaiva social philosophy differs from our own, in the first place by its refusal to recognise the authority of anyone outside the individual's extended family, a characteristic to which I shall give more attention later. If the Orokaiva, by and large, order their lives by the same moral principles, they would explain this by their common belief in certain demigods whom they all regard as their ancestors and as sources of authority, and who created certain institutions embodying moral norms to which they all subscribe. Not only do they obey the precepts of these demi-gods, they also re-enact their feats in ritual and identify with them during ceremonies, and in many of their regular expressive activities.

I shall therefore attempt to reconstruct what these demi-gods are said to have taught the Orokaiva about social relations. This reconstruction requires a brief analysis of some myths in which these teachings are contained. The myths all refer to events in original time. I was told that men, in their primordial or pre-cultural state, were living by the top of Mount Lamington (*Sumbiripa Kanekari*), which is traditionally regarded by the Orokaiva as the centre of the universe (Schwimmer 1969). I collected a number of myths explaining the origin of death, strife, fire, houses, marriage, clothing and several other elements of culture. The demigods who transformed human life by introducing these gifts came 'from the mountain'; Sumbiripa himself was the first man to die. He retired inside the mountain and all those who died later are said to stay with him inside the mountain. Hence the rumblings and tremors emitted by the volcano. Two published sources (Tomlin 1951, Benson 1955) show that these beliefs antedate the eruption of 1951.

While men lived by the top of the volcano, there was, according to the myths, no disunity, no quarrelling and no warfare, and men all ate with one another. As they multiplied greatly, so one of the tales records, some of them settled in an unoccupied place at the foot of a *barivo* tree. There they collected saplings, thatch and lashings to build themselves a village. One man stole lashings prepared by another and used them to build his own house. When the owner of the lashings found the thief, the two started to fight. The men present, one and all, became separated into two contending sides which never stopped fighting. *Emboavo aramiko tiketo ijunu avunu ena*: 'Therefore, from that time onwards, they dwelt separately down-valley and up-mountain.' Having started thus, they continued to be alone (*oenga oenga*) and to fight (*isoro ue mitiatera*). Separately cornered they captured, killed and ate each other and thus they then remained. In a final sentence, the narrator of the myth adds that permanent peace has now come and fighting (*isoro*) is finished.

I could not obtain data that would confirm that this stolen cord represents an umbilical cord and that this myth is about the birth trauma. However, the myth

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773 says that at the end of original time, warfare became an intrinsic part of social life. Two more specific messages emerge:

[126] 1. The institution created by the thief was *isoro* (intertribal warfare) which was cogently distinguished by Williams (1930: 160–6) from *embogi* (inter-clan fighting). *Isoro*, as opposed to *embogi*, takes place between groups who are geographically fairly distant, are often the speakers of different languages or dialects, and who do not usually maintain close social relations. In *isoro*, but not *embogi*, men fight to kill and eat each other. The myth therefore provides a charter for an institution by which social groups are in permanent strife with one another and permanently seek to kill and eat each other.

2. The myth states that this trife, in particular, divides the people from up-hill and down-valley. I have already pointed out that the main immediate cause of warfare around Mount Lamington was pressure of population generated on the fertile foothills, which led to groups being driven downwards, while these groups in turn drove the valley people further and further from the mountain to less desirable territory.

773 The social philosophy expressed in this myth is therefore based partly on the
829 observation of ecological realities. Given a fertile centre and an increasingly infertile, but practically boundless periphery, strife is indeed endemic between social groups because the centre will continue to develop a denser population than it can support, and will always be able to muster much bigger raiding parties than the sparsely populated hinterland. It may lose battles now and then but in the long run it must be able to drive its excess population downwards. Thus the opposing forces will tend to be placed, as the myth says, up-hill and down-valley. The historical facts, as reported by Chinnery and Beaver (1916), Monckton (1921, Ch. XXIV) Williams (1930: 152–4), and Crocombe and Hogbin (1963: 14–16), all suggest that valley populations such as Aiga, Sauaha and Dobudura originally lived near the mountain and were driven off.

829 So far, Orokaiva social philosophy looks notably like Hobbes' view of social life as it would be in a state of nature. Between the warring groups, certainly, there appears to be no justice or injustice, but only war, and 'force and fraud are, in war, the two cardinal virtues'. How can fiduciary social relations be established at all in a world of this kind? As we know, Hobbes argued that it could be done only by the establishment of central authority, a step the Orokaiva did not take.

773 In order to present, as fully as possible, how the Orokaiva answered this
[126] question, I shall begin by quoting a myth told to me by Gideon of Hamburata, a village in the Sasembata district.[1] I had asked Gideon to tell me the origin of feasts, then taped the reply and translated it from Orokaiva:

> I shall tell you how feasting began.
>
> Three men, after marrying wives, set out and settled by the root of a *bariyo* tree. They had twelve children. When they had enough children, they built a house and founded a village. Then, deciding to leave, they made a feast by the root of that tree.
>
> They all collected taro, made a platform, prepared all the food and got ready. Gasi, the last-born son, tied together his taro for the feast, intending

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that it be there for his mother and father to eat. As he slept that night before the feast, Ombota stole the food. That man's garden was empty. He had no food, so he had nothing for the feast. Therefore, looking for food, he had stolen that taro for his mother. 773

The day broke, the feast was in progress and Gasi's mother and father were very hungry. Then Gasi looked about for them. Straight away his parents asked: 'Where did you prepare food for us? We are now very hungry.'

That boy asked in reply: 'Where is the taro I fetched for you?' – 'We have no taro and we are very hungry.' Upon returning inside the house to look, Gasi then saw that the taro had gone. So he went round the houses to look for that taro and saw it lying in Ombota's house.

As Ivi and Gasi quarrelled with Ombota, the mother and father went down to Erehata creek, taking with them their entire small house, as it stood on its posts. They floated down that stream until it met the river Embara. The woman's name was Jomiko and her husband was Sirere.

They stopped when they had reached a place called Sorovi-Ereremba. Meanwhile their sons, about to give the feast, inquired where their parents were but could not find them. When the battle (*isoro*) was over, Gasi and the oldest son, Havururе, went away to find their mother and father. Upon arriving at the place called Sorovi-Ereremba, they saw them where they had come to a stop. Their parents told them: 'We are staying here but you must go back and feast.' The sons then went back, but their mother and father stayed behind.

At that time, their parents' words were as follows: 'We are staying here. In bad times you will hear no speech from us but if times are good, and you intend to hold a feast, then listen to our speech.' Thus they spoke.

Sirere turned into a stone which is still there today. In time of hunger we do not hear his speech. In good times, when a feast is about to be held, we hear his speech.

My small tale about feasts is finished.

Before discussing the meaning of this tale, I should explain briefly some ethnographic details. It is customary to hold a feast on the occasion of a departure, so the brothers' decision to hold one agrees with modern custom. On the other hand, it is irregular indeed to hold a feast unless it is known in advance that there is enough food for all the guests. A feast is always preceded by elaborate and highly ritualised checks to make sure that the supply of taro is abundant. We may regard the tale quoted here as a mythological charter for these ritualised checks which are discussed in detail in Chapter VII. It is still usual, however, for guests at a feast to be fed in the individual households where they are staying. Thus the taro used for cooking would be kept, as in this tale, in individual homes. The gift taro, laid out on platforms, falls in a different category. 773 574

The house in which the parents floated away must be understood as the prototype of the feast house. This is a small structure placed at one end of the central plaza (*ngaha*) of a village. It is built a few weeks before the feast and it is in front of and in the feast house that rituals are performed during the whole of the period that ceremonies last. We may take it that Jomiko and Sirere are 773 574 345

773 574 [345] [554] demigods who are believed to have stablished the institution of building a feast house. As this couple were in the feast house during the fight, it may be assumed that they were, in a ritual sense, the feast-givers. A modern feast also always has a person occupying the office of feast leader who is charged with the ritual as well as the organisational tasks of the feast. This leader (*pondo kiari embo*) is a man acting alone, and there is no mention that his wife has any function. This is a curious discrepancy between myth and custom, especially as elsewhere in New Guinea the feast-givers are often an elderly couple (e.g. Landtman 1927).

773 574 787 I was told that the people of Hamburata, before holding a feast, always consult the stone mentioned in this tale. When the wind blows through it, it makes a whistling sound, and is the sign that a feast may be held. This may be regarded as part of the ritual precautions necessary to ensure that a feast will be successful, but it is a purely local custom. The rule that a feast may not be held in hungry times is quoted and observed by all Orokaiva informants, of whatever locality. For the purpose of my analysis it is more important than the rule concerning the stone.

773 574 This tale resembles the one previously quoted in that both are concerned with a quarrel (*isoro*). The affair at the feast was not just an ebullient sham fight (*embogo*), but a serious battle, as the term *isoro* implies. But the messages of the two myths differ, in fact they seem to contradict each other. The message of the feasting myth may be summed up as follows:

1. In original time, men might hold some kind of feast at any time, but since the days of Jomiko and Sirere such permanent amity was no longer permitted. The *isoro* ended it.
2. Feasting was henceforth permitted only after special precautions had been taken and special permission obtained from the demigod. It had become an exceptional event, for which a special feast house had to be built.
3. The main criterion for the appropriateness of a feast was abundance of food.
4. A feast could be permitted only if perfect peace reigned among the guests. If the guests quarrelled the demigod's spirit would at once depart and the feast would be ritually void or even calamitous.

773 574 728 While the *isoro* was mentioned in the myth of the stolen lashing leads to a permanent state of war, the *isoro* in the feasting myth leads only to a restriction on the occasions when feasts may properly be held, and a rule to keep the peace for the feast's duration. How can these two apparently discrepant ideas about the nature of *isoro* be reconciled? My Orokaiva informants considered the two myths as stating different aspects of the same principle. Certainly *isoro* is (or used to be, before the Australians came) an expression of mutual anger that will never end. But it may be briefly interrupted, and it is good that from time to time the anger should cease and that men should then come together for a common feast.

Williams describes these interruptions exremely well:

> The lively monotony of warfare was broken by intervals of peace. A truce-making was called *peka*, and the first emissaries were women who, born members of one tribe, had married into or been captured by the

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> other... Two or three from either side would spend a few days and nights with the opposite party, and after this the two tribes would meet in armed force on some common ground between their territories to exchange gifts of pigs and ornaments.... (1930: 166)

Williams emphasises that such *peka* were precarious and often mere stratagems for killing more enemies. Nonetheless, feasts were held at intervals, former enemies were invited to them, and when they did happen the slate of old hostilities was wiped clean. No doubt, hostilities of the same kind would often occur again once the feast was over. Nonetheless, if there was no treachery, the feast was an occasion when the estrangement existing between social groups could be overcome in a communion ritual in which primeval amity was restored.

The notion of the feast as communion ritual is most clearly stated in a series of myths, of which the most widely known is that of Totoima. Some of the most celebrated stories about Totoima – his practice of killing men and eating them while wearing pig's tusks, and of killing and eating his children as soon as they were born – are reserved for other chapters of this work. All the stories about Totoima, however, have a similar ending: by some trick (his son stealing his teeth, his son feigning death and concealing a spear, his wife or sister raising many children out of blood from a cut finger so they could murder him) Totoima was killed in revenge for his iniquities. In many of the versions, which we shall discuss in Chapter VII, Totoima is neither fully a human being nor fully a wild pig but rather an undifferentiated pig-man partaking of the nature of both.

Totoima's body was cut into the joints into which pigs (and presumably slain humans) were traditionally subdivided prior to being shared out between guests at a feast. Those who ate the joints multiplied miraculously so that their descendants peopled practically the whole of the Northern District. Usually, at a feast, the joints would be given to the heads of different nuclear or extended families. In this case, the family head who received the right fore-leg became the ancestor of all the Mambare people; the recipient of the left fore-leg became the ancestor of the Opi people; the right hind-leg became Sangara, the left hind-leg Isivita, the head became the coastal people, the back Kokoda, the belly Togahou and the 'liver' Angerita. One might say therefore that Totoima was the primal ancestor of all these warring tribes, and as Williams shows (mostly in his unpublished manuscripts) all the tribes listed here have retained some similar story.

But Totoima was a primal ancestor in a special sense. Strictly, in most of the versions, he was not the sire of the people who ate his meat. He is not, therefore, an ancestor in a genealogical sense. But it was his meat that miraculously caused these small families to multiply into tribes. Thus it was his strength, his *ivo*, entering the bodies of those who ate him, which really caused the tribes to multiply. The tribesmen became the inheritors of his *ivo* and it was from this that their power arose. Totoima was their ancestor in the sense that they had his *ivo*. We are thus led closer to the underlying pattern of Orokaiva political philosophy. As a result of the primal quarrel, the affair of the stolen lashing, social groups were separated by a permanent *isoro*. At the same time they are bound together by a primeval communion, the common eating of

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Totoima's body, from which all derive their *ivo*. The feast seems to be the occasion *par excellence*, at which the primeval communion is re-enacted. This is, of course; a point that needs careful empirical demonstration, which will be given in Chapter VII. All I wish to suggest at this stage is the existence of at least one ritual device whereby the state of permanent *isoro* between social groups can be overcome, the re-enactment of a communion for which the Totoima myth provides the mythological charter. Such a communion may be brought about only by a long series of economic and ritual preparations, such as a feast requires; there must be an abundance of taro and of pig, there must be feathers and ornaments, new loincloths, musical instruments and guests willing to share in the communion. Above all, there must be skilful magic. Even then, the success of a feast is never predictable, and always hangs in the balance. Thus the communion between social groups, in this philosophy always remains problematic but, for various practical reasons (the need for alliances in a world at war) it is frequently attempted. The social philosophy of the Orokaiva, then, starts from the assumption of the gulf that yawns between man and man, and proceeds to delineate various techniques (of which the feast is one) to bridge it.

We are now able to see more clearly why among the Orokaiva social exchange is rarely effective unless prestations of economic value are exchanged between partners to mutual satisfaction. Relations between social groups are generally unsatisfactory and hostile, but they can be made harmonious if one side gives the other a feast, which the other side must reciprocate. The harmony thus established is an extraordinary state which is sure to be interrupted by subsequent conflicts, so that feasts must be held periodically to keep group relationships within the bounds of amity.

Relationships between individuals follow the same pattern, though gift exchange here takes the place of the larger and more formal feasts. If no presents pass between two individuals for some time, this is thought to signify a breakdown of amity and the gradual re-establishment of the *natural* hostility between man and man. Only gift exchange prevents Orokaiva society from presenting the perfect living model of Hobbes' war between all and all. It is largely for this reason that I have chosen gift exchange as the basic principle in my analysis of Orokaiva society.[2]

3. *Towards a Model of Exchange*

The feasting myth quoted in the previous section seems to me to embody the essence of Orokaiva social philosophy, in as far as it explains the basic nature of gift exchange relations. My next task will be to translate this myth into the more abstract language of social science, as must be done if its ideas are to be made part of anthropological discourse.

A feast tends to be held by two social groups between whom relations have turned somewhat sour. There may have been a war, or a murder, or some other grievous act of violence or there may have been no more than minor friction between them. One side may suspect that the other performed black magic against them. Generally speaking, however, by the premises of Orokaiva social philosophy, both sides will have been storing up some grievances against the other. Often neither side will be willing to admit to the major responsibility for

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121 delayed or altogether flounder and the relationship may be prevented from developing.

Gouldner's answer to this dilemma was that there must be a 'norm of reciprocity', internalised in both parties, which *obliges* the one who has first received a benefit to repay it at some time. Other sociologists, such as Blau (1964: 92–3), do not accept this particular explanation, because they do not believe that all social constraints are normative 'and those imposed by the nature of social exchange are not, at least, not originally'. Blau argues, in short, that the advantages to be gained from entering into exchange relations are psychologically so compelling that dangers and suspicions are insufficient obstacles. Even those who fully agree that not all social constraints are normative may feel dissatisfied with this psychological non-explanation.

Let us now consider how the dilemma can be solved in terms of Orokaiva social philosophy as presented in previous sections of this chapter. Orokaiva recognise that social exchange is precarious but claim to have various (magical) devices which are successful if properly used. These devices appear in my model as mediating elements. Why do Orokaiva believe in their effectiveness? They do so because the mediating devices have been instituted by demigods whose heroic feats they re-enact in their rituals. There is a strict code saying what should be done and how it should be done. The exchange fails if the code is not followed. What we have is not, as Gouldner suggests, one norm of reciprocity, but a wide range of codes deriving their authority from mythical demigods. The 'starting mechanism' is, in effect, the whole of Orokaiva mythology. I have been unable to find a charter in this mythology for any rule that a person who has received a benefit should repay it; in other words, I do not know of an Orokaiva mythical charter for a norm of reciprocity. All I have encountered are rules stating what acts are necessary if certain types of exchange are to be effected successfully.

776 I shall clarify these generalisations by giving a brief account of the nature of
171 these demigods and of the rules they instituted, so as to be able to set out more
773 clearly their role in the Orokaiva exchange system. The demigods of the Orokaiva resemble those found throughout Melanesia. Not all the cultures who believe in such demigods have a generic term for them. The Marind-anim of Western New Guinea, however, use the term *dema* to refer to all beings who lived in original time, to whom the creation of a feature of the cultural order is ascribed, and who are celebrated in myth and ritual. I shall follow Jensen (1960) and borrow the Marind-anim term, though other terms used in anthropological literature (culture hero, transformer, etc.) have a somewhat similar meaning.

Jensen presents a useful generalised portrait of these *dema*, as they are found in cultures of tropical tuber cultivators. In general, they are not creators of the natural order but rather of the salient features of material, social and religious culture. Very often it is not through his deeds that a person becomes a *dema* but through the circumstances of his death or departure, which make his *dema*-like nature apparent and give rise to an institution. Thus, Totoima became a *dema* as the result of his body being shared among his people; Jomiko and Sirere became *dema* after departing, in their peculiar way, from the world of man. Similarly the coconut *dema* is a girl who was killed and from whose body a coconut grew. Thus she gave the coconut to mankind and, by this gift, acquired the status of

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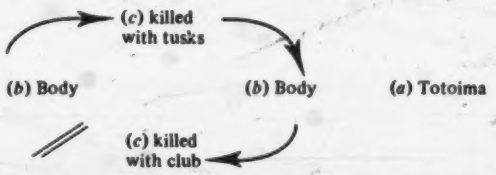
776 773 171 son (a man) killed his father with a club, a human weapon. Furthermore, the order of superiority was reversed: it was now no longer man who was killed by a tusked being; man became the killer, pig became the quarry.

From this analysis it would appear superficially that it is not Totoima but his son who ought to have been revered as the *dema*. It is he, after all, who has effected the differentiation between man and pig, who has provided man with pig as his quarry. But this is not how the Orokaiva reason. It is the same with the *dema* Pekuma to whom the technique of meat-roasting is ascribed. Pekuma is not the man who invented, by his own ingenuity, the technique of meat-roasting. He was the victim of another man who played a trick on him, dropped him in a hole, and roasted him. He tasted delicious. The Orokaiva remember Pekuma because he *was* the first roast meat and Totoima because he *was* the first quarry. The gift for which they are celebrated is not their inventive ingenuity but their body, in the form of food. Like the victims of cannibal raids, to whom Jensen devotes a lengthy discussion, the *dema* release their spirit power by the deed of being sacrificed, and this spirit power then becomes available to the killers and to all men.

We have seen, however, that the killing of Totoima was not an isolated event; it was done in response to Totoima's own murderous activities. As Jensen points out, in the life history of the *dema* some fault usually occurs, either committed by the *dema* or someone else, which is represented as the cause of death. We may thus, to some extent, view *dema* myths as a special kind of truncated exchange cycle. Totoima's story, for instance, might be represented in the following diagram in which Man and Totoima are the exchange partners, both of whom offer their body as an object of exchange (or sacrifice):

MODEL 5



In this as in all myths, the exchange cycle is incomplete, as the completing of the cycle in the model would imply that the cycle is intended to repeat itself *ad infinitum*. But the whole point of the myth is that after Totoima it is no longer normal for man to be killed by a pig's tusks, but that pig becomes the normal quarry of man. The world, indeed, has been completely transformed as a result of pig having become man's quarry. Man is now able to multiply rapidly, deriving a great new strength from the pig-meat he is able to acquire. The exchange cycle shown in model 5 has therefore, since that time, been replaced by institutionalised feasting where pig sacrifice appears as an essential mediating element (model 1).[A]

773 574 We may therefore regard truncated exchange cycles such as are shown in models 2 and 5 as the starting mechanism of Orokaiva exchange. To put this more concretely, let us consider the large platform heaped with taro that is

A [See Category 574, p. 58--Analyst]
B [See Category 574, p. 59--Analyst]

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exhibited at every feast for guests to take home. This is an essential mediating element in the social exchange between hosts and guests, and appears as such in model 3. But why does this taro have to be there? What does it do? Why can it function effectively as a mediating element between guests and hosts? The answer to these questions lies in the myth about the origin of feasting (model 2). This myth tells the Orokaiva that if they have a big heap of taro at a feast, they *can* have effective social exchange between hosts and guest. The myth also tells them that this heap of taro is essential. The starting mechanism thus provided by the myth for the social relationship is essentially a magical one. It is a magical code rather than a moral norm, even though it has become institutionalised almost like a norm. Of course, the starting mechanism, like all magic, can fail on occasion. But unless the magic is used, there can never be social relations.

REFERENCES

1 For location of Hamburata, see Fig. 10.

2 After writing this chapter, I found that Sahlins has also been interested in Hobbes' social philosophy as in some way anticipating contemporary ideas about primitive exchange ('Philosophie politique de l' "Essai sur le don" ', 1968). Especially close to Mauss' thought is Hobbes 'Fourth Law of Nature – Gratitude' (*Leviathan*, Part I, Ch. XIV).

A [See Category 574, p. 59--Analyst]

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tendency is to use money income to purchase goods needed for daily life but obtainable in the subsistence sector of the economy (Waddell and Krinks 1968: 192). Only a small minority of the goods used by Orokaiva fall into this category, but if the tendency to exclude most store-bought goods from the gift exchange system continues, we may expect that system gradually to decline in importance as the monetary sector of the economy increases.

In the political sphere, the traditional system of control is still generally in operation at the village level. Under this system some men may exert great influence over a community, but they cannot enforce compliance by physical sanctions. While the Orokaiva generally maintain this system, an exception is made for councillors and committee men acting under delegated power from the government. These men may lay complaints with Australian authority and in practice do not always disdain to do so. Among the New Zealand Maori, any leader who so much as threatens to invoke European authority risks being nicknamed 'Mr. Government' and losing all influence. Not so among the Orokaiva; the argument is that it is better for such powers to be used by an Orokaiva official than by the government itself. Nonetheless, use of authority outside the extended family goes against the Orokaiva ethos and undermines the exchange system in a minor way, because an official, by invoking his *authority*, can obtain something from Alter without becoming indebted to Alter. A traditional leader, under the same circumstances, might have incurred a debt or drawn on a kind of credit balance. Here again, the departure from the traditional exchange system does not greatly intrude in everyday affairs, but is symptomatic of the type of changes social development would bring. There has thus been a growing inconsistency between the norms of the traditional exchange system and the facts of labour migration, cash cropping, adherence to the Christian Church, attendance at meetings called by councillors, school education, use of medical services, changes in house architecture, participation in women's clubs, savings and loan societies, rubber co-operatives and the like. How, if at all, did Orokaiva thought cope with these basic inconsistencies?

I have explained how traditional institutions are accounted for. When I inquired why it is that mankind wears clothing, makes fires, contracts marriages, I would be told myths about the *dema* responsible for these institutions. I would also be told that after the *dema* had shown men how to act in these matters there had never been any change. There was primordial time during which men lived, one might say, in the state of nature. In spite of the absence of strife and death that era was not invariably represented as a happy one. Women were desolate because they had no men to marry, no fire to cook with, no houses to live in. In spite of most obstinate and desperate efforts, graphically described in the myths, mankind failed to get the things it needed. The *dema* thus brought release from suffering when they introduced cultural goods, techniques and rules of behaviour. But after the *dema* died, nothing ever changed again.

While such beliefs belie any suggestions that the Orokaiva are without history,[1] it remains true that the Orokaiva repertoire of historical explanations is very small. The actions of the *dema*, the scission of lineages comparable to the branches of a tree, the settlement of villages by men sleeping under a *barevo* tree – this completes the set of traditional historical explanations of which I have knowledge. How could the Orokaiva, confined to this set of concepts, find

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a rationale, satisfying to themselves, for the behaviour patterns they are now adopting in response to the impact of the white man's power? This is the question to be explored in the next section of this chapter. I shall put foward the suggestion that the Orokaiva actually developed an interesting and satisfactory explanation of recent cultural changes, using the concept of a new *dema* who set new exchange cycles into motion. In demonstrating this point, I shall quote at length from informants' statements so as to indicate clearly the nature of the primary evidence on which I have drawn.

2. *A New Starting Mechanism*

I shall begin by quoting a tape-recorded speech made by a member of the Higaturu local government council at a meeting held at Torogota village, Sasembata valley.[2] The reader may well doubt the sincerity of this speech, as I did myself when I first heard it. I discovered, however, that councillors frequently address meetings in similar terms. Trusted Sivepe informants told me that the recorded speech is typical of what that councillor usually said. It was elicited when I asked the men of Torogota for tales about olden times (*iji matu*).

The councillor started with a sketch of the wars of his forebears. His 'grandfather' Bohuka, with a group of migrants from Waseta, and other villages, drove off the inhabitants of a village called Hingo Kakasita and settled on the land of that village:

> Today his grandchildren call this our land, but they are weak grandchildren of strong ancestors. . . . All this is communal land (*company enda*) conquered by our forebears. As a new day has now arrived, I tell you to be united. Therefore you must follow my instructions. The councillor for Sasembata is speaking. Everybody who speaks north, east, south or west should now stop.
>
> Now I am speaking about this old village here. I am Councillor Ase. I am saying: follow this word and hear it. I shall therefore tell you how they (i.e. the Europeans, the *taupa*) talk: 'Those men were all felling the tree. The man whose name I mentioned was a fighting man. His enemies killed the wayfarer like a dog. The Waseta people beat and chased them, came here and stayed.'
>
> I am councillor Ase. Here we live, people, in this very old village. We are the descendants of fighting ancestors, therefore we live here. We say that we live in the land where the *seha* grows (a useless bush tree) or where the *inota* grows (a useless cane looking like a sugar cane) or on *gindiri* (i.e. sandy, infertile) soil. We stay in an old village, but people are saying we are living on communal land; we are staying on a place we took during a raid. They are saying: 'The Waseta men had weak descendants. They stayed here because they were defeated.'

A little later during the same recording session, Councillor Ase spoke again. This time he started with a description of various magical powers traditionally possessed by the Orokaiva. He continued:

> In those days people did these things. They did not take jobs for only Jesus Christ gave jobs that people could take. The village constable bound people (with handcuffs) and took them if he believed they were telling lies. He took them to Kokoda and Court was held; then they would start work . . .

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539 776 177 [535] a victim and Christ's Passion. He also pointed out that by performing this chant, the dancers were sacrificing their bodies to Christ. There was no harm in this performance, he said, because the sentiments in both forms of religion were the same.

Councillor Ase added a more earthy dimension to the pastor's words when he declared that it was Jesus Christ who had given the Papuans the benefit of wage labour. This sentiment might have appealed to Governor Murray. It completes the image of Jesus as *dema*. First, Jesus was killed and gave His body to mankind, or to His followers, by being crucified. His body is still being consumed at Communion services, the deep sacredness of which the Papuans recognise. He also left behind him immense *gifts*: the technology (cargo) of the white man, and money with which men may acquire this cargo. Wage labour is one of the means now open to the Papuans for acquiring at least a little of this money and cargo. Thirdly, like all *dema*, he left behind a set of rules which men have to follow if they are to obtain full access to the particular kind of *bo* he bequeathed upon mankind.

182 771 776 177 It now becomes a little clearer how the Orokaiva have found a rationale, satisfying to themselves, for the behaviour patterns they are adopting in response to the impact of white power. The coming of the white man is viewed as an event of the same magnitude as the addition of a new *dema* to the pantheon. The most crucial fact about this new *dema* is that it was through his help that the white man obtained extraordinary wealth and power. It was hinted to me from time to time that the white man should have been far more generous in sharing this wealth and power with the Papuans. At the same time, however, it was emphasised that the Orokaiva had already received some substantial benefits, for example the introduction of money, wage labour and cash cropping. My informant the councillor, whose contact with white authority had been somewhat closer than was usual in the district, claimed special knowledge about how European-type power might be obtained. It was on the basis of this knowledge that he felt entitled to advise his people to shift to another village. But his audience did not really believe he knew anything.

[623] [115]

While the councillor's competence was doubted, his basic ideas were generally accepted: Orokaiva progress was thought to depend on the following of prescriptions originating from the *dema* Jesus Christ. The white man had revealed only part of these prescriptions. (In this respect Orokaiva beliefs resembled those reported by Burridge 1960, 1969.) It was thought, moreover, that these rules prescribed ritual acts performed for the first time by Jesus Christ and now imitated by those who are fully initiated in His mysteries. While these Orokaiva beliefs may impede their understanding of the workings of white society, they do provide a rationale for those white behaviour patterns which Orokaiva are able to observe. They also provide a charter for the changes Orokaiva are actually adopting in their exchange system and elsewhere.

177 773 [731] One experience at Hohorita made me aware how closely the introduction of Western culture is identified with the action of traditional *dema*. Due to the death of most of the older men of the Sangara tribe at the time of the eruption, their descendants grew up at Hohorita without much knowledge of myths and traditions. Nonetheless, when I visited the village, a number of men spent several nights with me telling me what they knew. Their information would mostly be

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dismissed by a seeker of ancient lore, but contained some myths of obviously recent vintage which helped me to understand contemporary Orokaiva thought. I was told that before the Europeans came, the Orokaiva used to make only very small gardens. They were in constant danger of starvation and depended greatly on wild fruit. I copied the names of these, but was told that many of them were never eaten nowadays. (Many are inedible.) In those days, people did not make feasts as they did not grow enough food. The large gardens people have at the present time were introduced only when the Europeans brought steel axes and knives.

In other villages I was told similar stories about a primordial state of wretchedness when people cultivated no taro but ate wild fruit now considered inedible. But this period ended when the *dema* introduced the elements of traditional Orokaiva culture. In Hohorita, culture history had become foreshortened. Other Orokaiva distinguished the traditional *dema* stories which occurred in the dim past from the stories concerning the arrival of the Europeans; they recognised in fact *two* periods of fundamental change: one ancient and complete, the other recent and incomplete. In Hohorita tradition, these two periods have to some extent become fused. The premature death of men born between, say, 1890 and 1910 deprived the men of today of any factual knowledge of the coming of the European: it has already been turned into myth and placed, so to speak, *in illo tempore*. But this unusual development only emphasises how closely the gifts of European culture are identified with those of traditional *dema*.

The chairman of the Higaturu Local Government Council, who also happened to live at Hohorita, had long conversations with me about the constitution and activities of the council. On one occasion I wished to discover to what extent the council had been set up in response to popular aspirations and to what extent the councillors (as opposed to the Australian adviser) made decisions on basic policy. Answer: because the government had a council at Rabaul, it decided to have one in the Northern District as well. Did the people want the council? They had been given schools; they had been given coffee to market. They therefore thought the council would also be good. Would it not be better for the people to decide for themselves how their problems should be solved instead of leaving all decision-making to the government? The council did not come from ourselves but from the administration. We do not know about the council. It belongs to the administration and it was given to the village people.

The Department of District Administration had recommended this informant to me as being the most knowledgeable in the district on the subject of the council. I found his knowledge of the facts to be most accurate, and at council meetings he was the only man who dared to argue with the advisory officer. But when I questioned him on the level of social philosophy, he fell back on the standard Orokaiva explanation: power and strength come to us not from things we have invented or made ourselves, but from things that have been given to us by our exchange partners. This is precisely what Councillor Ase said: if the Orokaiva of today desires to have an *ivo* equal to that of his ancestors, he has to follow the instructions of the council, i.e. to build a new village, grow coffee, individualise land titles. This, at the present time, is his best available source of power and strength. In other words, it is not a matter of villagers independently

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relationship. They could conceivably have chosen a different explanation which would have provided a charter for the reinforcement of quite different relationships. If the eruption had not happened at all, the Orokaiva would most probably have taken the same direction, but the charter validating development and baptism would have been weaker for some time. It may be that the exchange ideology would have weakened before development started. The eruption, however, seems to provide Church and government with a most formidable arsenal of negative sanctions in case the relationship is ever broken through the fault of the Orokaiva. We may conclude that the Orokaiva, by their belief in a new kind of divine intervention (through the *dema* figure Jesus Christ), have been encouraged to make new types of economic, social and religious exchanges, while maintaining their assumption of an exchange-oriented universe, and that their philosophy has provided them, at least for a time, with a workable rationale for the contemporary world.

REFERENCES

1. The traditional time concepts of the Orokaiva are probably mainly restricted to what Evans-Pritchard (1939) called 'oecological' and 'structural' time. It is, however, very likely that they also had 'an historical perspective of their own, whatever its depth may be' – rather similar to the one described by M. Panoff for the Maenge (1968). Such a perspective would include not only the *dema* but also the scission of lineages and the settlement of villages. An Orokaiva described lineage fission to me by drawing a tree on the ground – using precisely the same symbolism as Panoff's Maenge informants. Orokaiva stories of the settlement of villages also abound, usually giving the name of the tree by which the settlers 'sat down' when they arrived.

   Pocock (1964) has argued that as culture change becomes more rapid under the impact of European contact, traditional time concepts undergo structural transformation to make them more nearly explanatory of the actual course of events. I believe that the identification of Jesus Christ with a *dema*, as argued in this chapter, is an example of such structural transformation.
2. For the location of Torogota, see Fig. 10.
3. Information on this point was derived from several local planters, including Mr. C. E. Searle of Awala. See also Howlett 1965.
4. Details on communication channels between government and people are given in Schwimmer 1967, 1969.
5. The Sasembata mission station is not in Sasembata village but just north of Kongohambo. See Fig. 10.
6. Reay has reported that 'the natives had no knowledge, or legend, of an earlier eruption' (*apud* Taylor, 1958: 21). My own study (Schwimmer 1969) suggests that this view, while not strictly incorrect, needs to be modified. My sources are tape-recorded myths and Miss Nancy White's manuscripts (White, n.d.).
7. Interview with Bishop Hand, January 1967.

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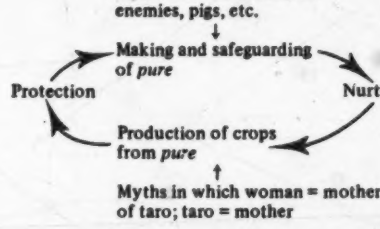
felt to be a feminine thing. In the myths it is the mother who buries the taro shoots (her children) and covers them with leaves and earth which are equated with her body. I shall show this in more detail in the next chapter.

In Williams' report on the division of labour, planting is shown as a female task, whereas the time studies of Waddell and Krinks suggest that the activity is actually shared by the couple. There is no real contradiction here, nor much evidence of change, as the man's task is to pound holes into the soil with his digging stick whereas the woman does the actual planting, or burying (*kovari*) of the seed.

Unless the normal rules are suspended, as happens at feasting time, men do not harvest taro or other products of the *pure* where taro is planted. (The rules are different for the yam garden as we shall see later.) The explanation that is given of this rule is that only the women know how to harvest crops to best advantage, i.e. at the right time and in the right quantities. If men harvested, the supply would never last through the lean season. The woman is responsible for nurture, in the widest sense. It is her task every day to bring home garden food in the large string bag suspended from her head. Contrary to what white observers have sometimes believed, this is not a symbol of female slavery, but rather of female power and it is done proudly. When my wife started to bring home produce from our own garden in Sivepe (in a different kind of bag), the women crowded round excitedly and congratulated her. The food gifts that are constantly sent from one household to another may be, at least partly, regarded as a display by the women of their own success. The products of the taro garden (though not the yam garden) may ultimately be regarded as a gift from women to men. We may summarise the total transaction as follows:

MODEL 11


Myths of male as killer of enemies, pigs, etc.
Making and safeguarding of *pure*
Man
Protection
Nurture
Woman
Production of crops from *pure*
Myths in which woman = mother of taro; taro = mother

On the basis of such a model, what precisely is the nature of 'rights' in land enjoyed by husbands and wives? A simple analogy would be a jointly owned machine of which one party controls all the bolts and the other controls all the nuts. The assets of neither party have any value independently of the other. Value can be created only by the co-operative *action* of screwing together bolts and nuts. Land transactions between Orokaiva husbands and wives are similarly a sequence of cumulative co-operative actions, such that each move by one party calls forth an appropriate response. The only 'rights' are 'rights' to responses once certain moves have been made. Legal disputes can in practice arise only if

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CHAPTER VI

TARO

1. *Introduction*

It has already been pointed out (Chapter II) that taro is the staple food of the Orokaiva and that most of the taro produced is consumed directly by the producing household (over 90 per cent in all villages surveyed). Nonetheless, taro is the most ubiquitous of all Orokaiva objects of exchange: most households give some of it away every day and it is part of the conventional set of gifts that change hands on virtually every ceremonial occasion.

It is the purpose of this chapter to show that taro has all the characteristics of an object of mediation in the sense in which the term was used in the discussion on land. In particular, man identifies himself with taro, there is a series of myths which validate this identification, and these myths indicate the special significance of taro gifts. A wide range of social relations are mediated through taro gifts. Their main purpose is usually the mediating of social relations rather than the setting up of a claim for a specific return gift. In this respect again taro and land gifts resemble one another.

In his discussion of 'Reciprocity and Food', Sahlins (1965: 170–4) takes very

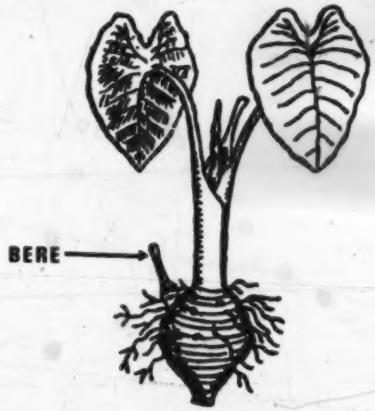

Fig. 7. *Colocasia esculenta* (taro).

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gain will be not only ethnographic but also theoretical: we shall have learnt that the analysis of mediating elements in exchange may provide the key to social structure in an exchange-oriented culture.

2. *Taro Ancestors*

I shall begin the analysis of taro symbolism with one myth especially rich in content, which includes all of the five characters, some of whom, in one way or another, appear in all the myths. It also stands out by the clarity of its detail on the cultivation cycle. As I proceed, I shall discuss some variant myths which emphasise certain themes omitted in the main one or convey the same message in different codes.

The myth is part of the Totoima cycle. It has been reported, very incompletely, by Williams (1930: 155, 158–9, 276) who believed that 'the eating of Totoima's body is generally made to account for nothing more than differences of dialect'. On the other hand the informant who told me the myth in Sivepe volunteered the explanation that it was the story of the origin of taro cultivation. His version, the fullest of a number collected, did not mention the name Totoima, but it occurred in different versions of the same tale given to me by others in the Sasembata district.

1. A husband slept with his wife. She became pregnant and gave birth to a male child. The husband came and asked: 'Woman, where does the boy come from?' 'I have just given birth to him.' 'Then he is mine to eat. Strike and sever him; when he is dead cut him up and cook him for me to eat,' he said.

(*Commentary*: These words are clearer if we remember that the narrator is thinking simultaneously of a woman giving birth to a child and a woman harvesting a taro. The Orokaiva believe that a growing taro has spirit life and that this spirit life is lodged in the leafy top. Therefore a taro does not die when it is harvested but the spirit life stays in it as long as the leafy top is not severed from the tuber. The act of cutting the top from the taro thus always bears a symbolic similarity to the act of killing. We shall see later that there is a crucial difference between gifts of taro with and without the tops.)

2. The woman was very sad because she had to kill and cook her child. They slept together again and this time the woman gave birth to a female child which was treated in the same manner. Male twin children followed next. But when the man came to fetch these, he could not find them. The mother had taken them to a hiding-place where she covered them with a heap of weeds (*bivese*) by the root of a tree.

(*Commentary*: The word *bivese*, used in all versions of the tale, is a gardening term used to describe a heap of weeds left in a field after clearing. It was a woman's task to keep taro plants snugly protected after planting by using these weeds as a cover. The tale thus continues to unfold on two levels: the social and horticultural level. The twins are being treated in the manner of seed taro after planting.)

3. On some pretext, the mother returned to the field, nursed the children and covered them over again. When she came home, her husband said: 'Wife, what did you do with my child that was in your belly?' 'Husband I threw my

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child into the water because it was bad,' she replied. 'I am going to collect cabbage.'

(*Commentary*: The reference to the water is the first of a series of apparent lies which always hide a symbolic truth. In this case it is easy to see the meaning, as several myths exist linking the origin of the taro with water. In one myth a woman was prodding the ground with a digging stick. She found water there (and this was the origin of water); later taro grew in that spot. In another myth a boy and girl who were siblings were washed away in a flood on a coconut tree. At the place where they finally landed they discovered taro. Taro, being identified with a human child, is thought of a growing in the water of the womb. The growth of the taro plant requires a very great deal of water and heavy rain so that the growing plant actually lives in a watery environment, which thus resembles a womb. In this sense, her statement is true.)

4. 'I am going to collect cabbage.' Having said this she climbed a cabbage tree. As she looked down and saw the place where she had put her children, she began to weep. When she returned to the ground, her husband said: 'Wife why did I see you cry when you climbed to collect cabbage?' 'When I went to collect the cabbage the sap squirted into my eyes and I rubbed them,' she said. 'You are lying,' he said.

5. When the children were fully grown, she took them to the mountain far away. She told them their history; 'therefore, I must leave you behind and you must stay,' she said. When she joined her husband again, he asked: 'Why did you stay away so late?' 'As soon as I had done my work and planted my seed (*bere kovitie*), I started on my way home,' she said. 'Woman, you are telling lies,' he replied. When the man understood what his wife had been saying, he went away.

(*Commentary*: When a taro is fully grown it begins to grow shoots on the side of the main rhizome. It is then the duty of the woman to take cuttings from the plant. Strictly speaking these cuttings (Orokaiva: *bere*) are tops of corm-bearing bases of petioles (*Vide* Barrau 1965). These cuttings[1] are taken to a new garden being established, usually, at some distance from the old one. When the husband heard his wife saying this, he understood at once that she had been hiding the offspring she said she had thrown into the 'water'. He could not know, however, that his wife had had twins and this became his undoing.)

6. The two children, all by themselves, made a garden, ate their food and kept alive. The man went to where the two children were staying. The female sibling (*du ate*) had gone to collect taro while the male sibling (*du bite*) was lying asleep with his chest turned upwards in the shelter (*guga*). It was there that the man found him, understood at once he was his child and cut out his heart and intestines. He ate these, leaving the rest of the body behind for the next day.

(*Commentary*: I do not know whether the narrator of the myth made a mistake when he said at the beginning that the hidden children were 'male twins'. There is no doubt whatever that at the stage the story has now reached they are siblings of opposite sex. While we cannot rule out the possibility of a narrator's mistake, my informant was an unusually reliable one and it is quite possible that there was an actual change of sex. This will become clearer later when we analyse the significance of male and female roles in this tale. The horticultural reference in this passage is to ordinary harvesting routine. The woman digs the taro and places them in a *guga* or shelter where they stay until

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824 she takes them home. The brother is clearly identified with taro growing in the
773 field.)
244 7. The story tells in more detail than is relevant here how the sister learned
539 what had happened, how a magician from Managalasi brought the brother back to life by giving him the heart and intestines of a wallaby, how this man married the sister and how the young man killed his father when the latter returned to complete his meal. He cut his father into many pieces which were shared out among men whose descendants became the various population groups in the Northern District, as discussed in Chapter III.

The myth takes us through two complete cultivation cycles from the planting of the *bere*, the covering over with weeds to protect them from the sun, the gradual growth of the plants under the care of the woman, to the shifting of a new *bere* to a new garden, and finally the growing of these new *bere* to maturity. I was given no explanation as to why the myth contains two cultivation cycles rather than one, but it becomes clearer if we regard the myth, on the horticultural level, as symbolising the domestication of what was at one time a wild plant. At this level, the myth starts with the finding of wild taro and the transplanting of the *bere* of that taro to a garden clearing. When these *bere* grow to maturity, new *bere* are taken from them and these in turn are transplanted. The products of this second planting are regarded as properly domesticated taro.

One may well wonder why the second cultivation cycle was introduced into the myth at all. Direct inquiry did not produce wholly satisfactory answers.
[262] People no longer eat taro that grows in the bush, I was told, because it does not taste sweet, it is small, it hurts the mouth. Nobody transplants wild taro *bere* to cultivated gardens nowadays; this was done only in the times of the ancestors. Informants' attitudes to this question were often of this kind when we were
[715] discussing the jungle. It was above all a place where the ghosts (*sowai*) lived and therefore dangerous. Wild pigs, especially, often harbour ghosts. If plants or animals are domesticated, it is the dispelling of ghostly essences that is the objective of the practices followed. I shall show this in more detail when discussing the domestication of pigs. Taking into account this fear and suspicion of the bush, it is understandable that a seed taken from the bush is not regarded as domesticated just because it has grown to maturity in a garden. A plant grown from a bush seed is regarded as still being contaminated by *sowai* influence. It is only the second harvest that can be regarded as wholly belonging to the domesticated domain.

[715] We have already met the same idea when discussing the taboo on taro-growing on a dead man's land. This taro is effectively contaminated in the same way as
[784] bush taro. It is not eaten by those whom it endangers. The next crop planted is still dangerous, and it is only the second planting after the previous owner's death that is free from taboo.

This discussion has already developed one of the main themes of the myth, namely the opposition between bush and garden, the wild and the sown, the dwelling place of spirits and the cultivated domain from which they are carefully banished. If we now turn to the message transmitted by the myth at the social level, we find a similar opposition, namely that between Totoima and his wife. Totoima who kills his own children, using his tusks as he does so, has partly a pig

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nature, partly a human nature, and these aspects are only partly differentiated. He ravages taro lying in the *gaga* in the manner of a wild pig. The wild taro *bere* planted by the woman in the beginning of the myth are fitly equated with his 'children' because Totoima's realm is the bush; bush taro are the children he might be expected to engender. The garden, however, is his wife's realm. It is she who nurses taro to maturity and who nurtures her family. She too has a dual nature, as she nurtures Totoima and also conspires to kill him. This second aspect is found in numerous myths concerning Totoima's wife. In the present version not only the wife but also the daughter is involved in conspiracy.

The taro are her children, and it is right that Totoima should eat them. She feeds them to him. However, she places restrictions on Totoima's appetite. The *bere* of the domestic taro must be preserved for planting. Hence it is the woman's duty to withhold these from her husband. Woman's two aspects – nurture and domestication – are crucial in the ritual statements made through gifts of taro.

Here we encounter again the dichotomy in sex roles to which I referred in the previous chapter. The male tends to be concerned with the killing of enemies and wild animals, the driving out of ghosts, the felling of bush before a garden can be made. On the other hand, the female is identified with the cultivation of taro. The *dema* of the taro are regularly called upon in drum songs performed at harvest time:

Bako jape teijo jape bako
Punduga kovari terijo jape bako, etc.

'Taro-being, ancestress, come to our aid, ancestress, taro-being; with the *punduga* harvesting help us, ancestress, taro-being', etc., where *punduga* is a variety of taro and the song continues with lines similar to the second one, invoking a great number of taro varieties, one after the other.

Taro, clearly, is a feminine plant. The first taro plant is found by a married woman in several myths I have recorded, though in others it was found by a brother and sister travelling together. One may well ask why it is, if taro is a feminine plant, that in this myth (and in others) we find its origin associated with two siblings of opposite sex (*du*), and why in particular it was the male sibling who was lying in the *gaga* while the female one was in the field. Those who like to impute laziness to the Orokaiva male may say that this scene is only too typical, but one cannot seriously believe this myth to indulge in caricature. In my explanation I shall anticipate an argument developed at greater length in Chapter VIII. It is a male sex role to clear a garden and give it to a woman; it is a female sex role to grow taro and give it to a man. These gifts are complementary and mediate the relationship between man and woman. The Orokaiva will classify a garden as a feminine thing 'because it is given to the woman' and a harvested taro as a masculine thing 'because it is given to the man'. This is why the taro lying in the *gaga* was a male sibling.

Evidence presented in the course of this chapter will show that Orokaiva regard taro as having a dual nature: while in the earth, they are identified with the woman who nurtures them and who regards them and nurses them as her children. When harvested they are victims to be killed, cut up and cooked and finally eaten. In this role of victims they are male, because the male is the killer

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and the male is also the most illustrious victim of the killer – the victim whose name and spirit is adopted by the killer. This theme, widely reported among headhunters, is strongly emphasised in Orokaiva culture, as Williams recognised. In the myth discussed here, and in several others, these complementary male and female aspects of the taro are indicated by the presence of a pair of *dema*, probably always siblings of opposite sex, and clearly marked as such in the present myth.

In addition to father, mother and twins, the myth contains a fifth character, the man from Managalasi, whose peculiarly male role is the hunting of animals. The marriage between him and Totoima's daughter lays down the Orokaiva principle that taro is a female product given to a man whereas meat is a male product given to a woman. In a number of myths I collected on the origin of marriage, that institution is set up by the male hero's action of bringing home meat to a woman instead of eating it in the bush, as was customary before marriage existed.

If female nature, in its pure state, is found in the taro garden and male nature, in its pure state, in the jungle, then it follows that human beings, being born of a man and a woman, have a mixed nature. In Totoima this dual nature is imperfectly developed (for he eats taro in the manner of a wild pig); similarly it is, at first, imperfectly developed in his son who does not hunt and has a purely taro nature. It is only when the man from Managalase has replaced the son's taro entrails with animal entrails that the latter has the power to defeat his father. He is then superior to his father because he has a fully human nature which is symbolised for instance by his manner of killing, with a club rather than the teeth (tusks), as did Totoima.

The analysis of this myth has enabled us to understand more precisely the sense in which it may be said that taro is, as Sahlins put it, symbolic of 'mother'. The Orokaiva do speak of taro as 'our mother' and the ideas they have in mind when they do so have been explained above. Taro is two things: it is a gift from a woman to her husband, and it is the offspring of the woman's womb inasmuch as she is identified with the taro goddess. The woman gives most of the taro-children she collects in the garden to her husband and others of her household, but she may extend this munificence by giving taro to others, i.e. by acting towards others as a quasi-wife or as though they were part of her household. Gifts of taro always have this intimate and deeply personal character as though the receiver was made part of the donor's household. The woman bears herself proudly, being pleased at having grown and cooked the food well; her attitude is formal and ceremonious, thus emphasising the importance of the gift and her respect for the recipient; at the same time she shows a certain solicitude, as though the recipient must be very hungry and very much in need of this meal.

3. *Taro as Mediator of Social Relations*

Gifts of taro may mediate either the establishment or perpetuation of a social relationship. But the ritual context of the gifts differs considerably. By far the most frequent type are gifts which maintain relationships; these are made by every Sivepe household every day. In the twenty-eight days for which I took

Taro given for	*Maintaining relationships*	*Starting relationships*
Parts of plant given	tuber only	entire plant
State of preparation	cooked	raw
Donor's sex	female	male
Ancestral twin with which gift is identified	female sibling	male sibling

The giver of a feast is always a male. Taro is hardly ever the only gift made on a ceremonial occasion, as pigs, *hambo* etc. must also be presented. Nonetheless, taro is essential as a mediating element in the starting of a 'new' relationship.

What is the significance of taro gifts in this context? Sahlins' suggestion that staple food when used as a gift object is symbolic of hearth, home and mother seem less cogent here than in the case of gifts of cooked food discussed earlier. In previous chapters I have presented a method for interpreting actions aimed at the establishment of social relations. I suggested that some objects are believed to have a special potency in attracting partners and that this potency is believed to be due to the presence of the donor's spirit in the gift object and the transfer of that spirit to the recipient through the mediation of the object. The questions are these: why, and in what circumstances, can a *male* use taro for the mediation of social exchange? What is the mythical and philosophic charter for such mediation? What is the distinctive power of feast taro to compel the recipient to respond to the donor's wishes?

The spirit substance transferred by the *male* when he gives taro at a feast is derived from his ancestors who are present in the land and in the tops of the taro. Just which ancestors are thought to be present it is hard to say, but they include the dead of the lineage who have used the land and they also undoubtedly include the spirit of the original *dema*, Totoima. It is believed that only certain varieties of taro are capable of successfully transmitting spirit in this way. These are known as feasting taro (*pondo ba*). I obtained a list of them, but this list was not very instructive. It contained virtually all the taro varieties growing in the informant's garden, though I was able to identify a few grown varieties which were specifically stated to be unsuitable for feast taro. Only a small minority of plants growing in the gardens belong to these varieties.

Males can use taro for the mediation of social exchange only if they are feasting varieties and if they are displayed, complete with tops, in such a way that they may symbolically represent Totoima's son: lying on a *gaga* with their chests turned upwards. What message does this symbolism convey? Totoima's son appears in the myth in two apparently contradictory roles: that of victim (eaten by his father) and of victor (killer of his father). So much is indisputable fact. It is easy to see what the gift of a feasting taro might mean if we take this symbolism to its logical conclusion. The message would be: 'You may eat me now; I shall kill you later.' No informant actually explained this meaning to me and this interpretation is therefore no more than conjecture. It accurately represents, however, the actual traditional relationship between feasting partners. A man who gives a feast deprives and humbles himself; every one of his gifts is symbolically a sacrifice of himself. His feasting partner is, in a symbolic sense, his enemy with whom he is now becoming reconciled. In order to effect

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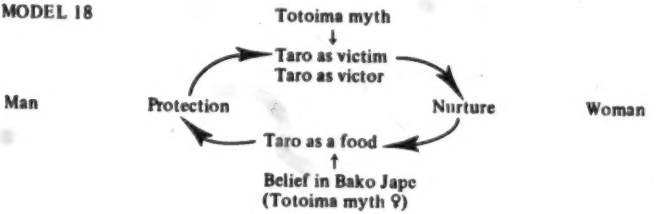
this reconciliation, he sacrifices himself symbolically in the form of his feast taro. But as the myth states, this sacrifice is not a final death. After the feast is over, the feast-giver is more spiritually potent than ever, having obtained the assistance of his own ancestral spirits. He is thus able to overcome his enemies.

Although these ideas are all in some way implicit in gifts of feasting taro, their threatening aspects are kept very much in the background, as the ostensible purpose of the occasion is to establish amity. If the gift represents a display, in very pacific form, of the donor's power, it also offers an opportunity for communion as the recipient consumes food imbued with the spirit of the donor and the donor's spirit thus becomes, as it were, part of him.

At this point we may summarise in a more formal manner the results of our analysis. The insight we have obtained into the meaning of taro gifts suggests that part of the Totoima myth may be represented by the following exchange cycle:

MODEL 18



This diagram does not represent the transaction between Totoima and his son (which has already been analysed in model 5) but rather the transaction between the taro woman (Totoima's daughter) and the man from Managalase. Here the man acted as protector while the woman provided nurture. The man from Managalase is primarily a hunter. He arrives on the scene with a wallaby slung over his arm. When he finds Totoima's son with his innards missing, he replaces these with the innards of the wallaby, thus enabling the son to kill his father. Clearly the meaning is that man, while having nothing but taro inside him, becomes necessarily the victim of the wild pig (Totoima), but when he has meat inside him he becomes strong and able to kill the wild pig. Thus man, by his concern with hunting and the provision of meat, becomes a protector to his wife.

The Managalase is a neighbouring district where the main crop is yam, not taro, though a variety of inferior taro (*pijama*) is grown in small bush clearings. The Managalase magician is therefore in an intermediate position between Totoima and his son. Unlike Totoima he recognises the technology and domestication of taro, but inadequately as he is mainly a hunter. Such, at least, is the Orokaiva view of Managalase.

Taro, for the Orokaiva, is symbolic of strength; it is preferred to other staples because it is believed to build stronger men. The success of an Orokaiva feast is measured principally by the amount of taro that changes hands. It is significant that in the fighting between Orokaiva and Managalase, the former were most often the agressors and the latter the victims of cannibal raids, inroads on

A [See Category 773, p. 64--Analyst]

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824 262 827 [721] 824 773 hunting territories and the like. Thus the Orokaiva regard themselves as stronger than Managalase (certainly they are more numerous as their fertile land can support a far denser population), which served to show the superiority of taro over yam.

The taro myth discussed above may therefore be recognised as a charter for two contrasting types of taro gift made by Orokaiva. Woman provides cooked taro domestically but man, in providing the raw feasting taro, employs taro as a symbol of fighting strength. Heaped up in the manner of sacrificial victims, they are given to guests, not so much to express commensality as to display and offer for consumption the competitive strength of the donating group.

4. *A Survey of Taro Gifts*

824 431 125 128 One special interest that taro gifts hold for the field anthropologist is their great frequency which opens the possibility of statistical analysis of a fairly large number of gifts of a fairly homogeneous kind. Twenty-two households were visited daily (or almost daily) providing a record of taro gifts made over twenty-eight days from 31 January to 10 March, 1967. Informants were asked to whom they had sent presents during that day and from whom they had received presents. The survey provided useful incidental information about visitors who had been in the village during the day without my knowledge, and about gifts of objects other than taro. For the purpose of analysis I ignored gifts made to persons not resident in the village, as these were scattered over a great many villages and the survey period was not long enough to establish statistical regularities. Waddell reported that 40 per cent of taro gifts were made to persons outside the village (Sivepe), 10 per cent to villages within one mile of Sivepe, 14 per cent to villages situated between one and two miles from Sivepe, 9 per cent to more distant villages and 6 per cent to expatriate centres. (1968: 218). The statistics compiled by Waddell, however, are in terms of weight rather than the number of gifts. A gift of cooked taro made within a village was for one meal only (averaging perhaps 5 lbs.) while a gift of raw taro made to visitors from other villages or at feasts was more likely to weigh at least 25 lbs. Thus the number of gifts made to persons other than villagers was less than 10 per cent of the total.

As I intend to draw some significant conclusions from the statistics of intra-village taro gifts, it is relevant to describe briefly some difficulties I had in collecting these statistics. The fact that households were asked to report on gifts received as well as gifts made provided an effective check, as ideally all items should have been mentioned twice, once by the donor household and once by the recipient household. People very often forgot to tell me of some of the gifts received and made. Some people were most likely to forget what they had received; others would forget what they had given. If my study had been biased towards psychological anthropology, the frequency of these types of memory lapses among individuals might have given me a basis for establishing a typology of exchange partners. I soon found that nobody claimed gifts they had not actually made or received

From the first day of the survey it became obvious that my questions, simple though they seemed, contained an unexpected ambiguity: should the informant

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CHAPTER VII

PIGS

1. *Introduction*

While taro exchanges serve to maintain the basic social network used in transactions, the pig is the most common object of mediation in critical situations. Unlike taro, pig is not consumed as part of the ordinary diet, but is commonly described as a 'feasting food'. As feasts are held only to mark a crisis in social relations, it will be our task to investigate what makes pig meat specially suitable as a feasting food. One may, at the outset, answer this question with a remark about the physiological properties of pig meat: as the Orokaiva diet normally includes little first-class protein, any meal at which meat is served may be expected to have a specially invigorating and exhilarating effect. But in the present inquiry it does not suffice to give physiological explanations: our problem is to discover how the exhilarating experience of eating meat becomes symbolic and how it is magically utilised in the managing of social crises.

Pig meat is used both for the restoration of good relations after a quarrel or estrangement and for the establishment of new social relations. As such it serves a function in widening the social network. This function is hinted at in the basic pig myth about Totoima to which reference has been made earlier. When Totoima was killed, the joints cut from his body were distributed far and wide and caused all those groups who shared in it to multiply rapidly. This sharing may thus be regarded as a kind of communion which implies both social relations and the conferment of a blessing. Both these themes are strongly present in all ceremonies where pig meat is shared.

But there is a second theme as well: there is in every gift of pig meat the notion of a reparation, either for past services rendered or for past injuries suffered, even though these injuries on some occasions may amount to no more than the lapsing of social contact. The Totoima of the myth, of course, was guilty of many murders and his death was an occasion for dispelling many grievances. Thus the gift of pig meat implies not only a communion but also an expiation.

In treating pig as an object of mediation in exchange, I shall need to demonstrate specifically that in certain respects a gift of pig resembles a sacrifice. It must be shown that the offerer identifies with the pig that is given away or sacrificed, and that there is a belief in the 'virtue' or magical power of the sacrifice both in establishing a social link between sacrificer and human beneficiary and in strengthening the spiritual state of the sacrificer himself.

The data show that pig sacrifices may be regarded equally well as rites of communion and as rites of expiation. The key to their significance, however,

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lies neither in communion nor in expiation, as they are essentially magical devices to bring about a transformation in social relations with a partner.[1]

While this partner may on occasion be a close kinsman who is given a feast for some special reason, he often has a rather distant position in the exchange network of the donor, with whom commensality occurs only on rare occasions. Not only do feasts tend to extend in this way the range of individual social networks but they are especially apt to extend the range of social relations existing between villages. Feasts are often given by one village to another, thus leading to the establishment of at least one partnership between each household of the host village and each household of the guest village.

The explanation of pig sacrifices requires an elaboration of my model of exchange. The models used so far may be called *transactional*. One may distinguish between positive transactional cycles (in which the two sides exchange benefits mediated by gifts) and negative transactional cycles (in which the two sides exchange sanctions mediated by penalties). In addition one may construct *temporal* cycles, which may show the alternation between friendship and anger, offence and repentance, mortification and forgiveness. A violation of the exchange code will shift a relationship from a positive into a negative transactional cycle, while a reconciliation feast will restore positive reciprocity. The value of pig sacrifices lies in their power to set a relationship upon a course of positive exchanges where, previous to the sacrifice, the two sides were engaged in a mutually injurious exchange of sanctions.

This implies an assumption about the nature of social relations: namely that they cannot be described as intrinsically positive or negative. One cannot divide the Orokaiva social universe into concentric circles distinguishing between permanently friendly and permanently hostile groups. The most one may do (if one has data over a sufficient period) is to show that in the association between villages A and B the cycles of negative reciprocity have been relatively short while between villages A and C they have been relatively long. In this sense one may call B a 'friendly' and C a 'hostile' village, and it may be expected that inter-village feasts, in which pig sacrifices figure, will be more frequent between A and B than between A and C.

This conceptualisation is not based on my own private theory of sociality, but on the Orokaiva expressed belief that strife is a 'natural', i.e. *dema* established consequence of social relations. This belief implies that any relationship will tend to alternate between positive and negative cycles, primary kin relationships not excepted. In *original time*, we find only positive cycles of reciprocity; strife periodically engenders negative cycles, while pig sacrifices lead to the periodic restoration of positive reciprocity.

2. *The Wild Pig: Marauder*

To the Orokaiva the wild pig is above all a troublesome enemy, as it attacks taro crops in gardens and is liable to kill an unwary hunter. It lives in the jungle where it is believed that ghosts (*sovai*) may enter its body. A pig inhabited by a *sovai* is especially dangerous and harmful to man. The ontology of the pig is explained in a series of myths of which the following, recorded by Williams, states its message most clearly:

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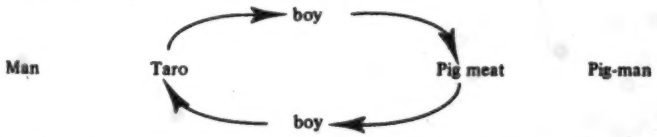
A man and a pig (apparently a pig in form but really a man) were up a tree together after fruit . . . the man gave the pig a push and he fell down . . . helpless. Another man came along with a dog . . . the Man-pig cried, 'Hold your dog or he may bite me.' He then asked this new man to build him a house . . . this done he asked for food . . . and an arrangement was reached by which this man always sent taro, etc. from the village to the Pig-man's house . . . and in return received a brought real pig. But the man grew lazy, and once sent his son with the taro. This so annoyed the pig that he tried to kill the boy . . . but he made his escape back to the village . . . After this the Pig-man thought the villagers would want to kill him . . . so he took to the bush (Notebooks 1923, W. 56).

This myth is concerned with the question why man and pig are differentiated species with separate assigned domains.[2] The pig-man of the myth (like Totoima discussed in an earlier chapter) is clearly neither fully man nor fully pig, but has an intermediate position. The assumption appears to be that in primeval time the present discontinuity between the species man and pig did not yet exist. The myth describes how this discontinuity came about and distinguishes two stages. At the outset there was no differentiation at all, a state symbolised in the myth by the image of pigs being able to climb trees. But even then they were less capable of arboreal life than man; man pushed the pig from the tree, thus inaugurating the first state of differentiation. An exchange relationship was now established whereby each partner offered the other the products of his own capacities. But there was an asymmetry in this relationship, as man offered a house and taro, whereas pig was able to offer only his own offspring. This state of equilibrium may be expressed by the following diagram:

MODEL 21



Except for the friendly intervention of the boy, this diagram represents the pattern of exchange that persists to the present day, as wild pigs take man's taro and man takes the pigs from the bush. But man defaulted in this exchange, omitting to send taro. Man thus set in motion the usual process of breaking a relationship. He sent the boy but the response of his neglect was not pig meat; it was anger and an attempt to kill the boy. The boy now ceased to visit pig-man: the social relationship between man and pig-man ceased and thus pig-man, bereft of social relationship, ceased to be 'man' at all but became fully pig. From that time on pig (no longer pig-man) kept to the bush and the exchange between man and pig was no longer friendly but hostile. Pig still takes man's taro but it is no longer given to him; he steals it from the gardens. Similarly, man still takes pigs, but he hunts for them in the bush.

[792] The separation of man and pig leads immediately to the division of the world

into two separate realms: the human world, comprising villages and gardens, and the wild world, *ariri*, the bush, where everything is dangerous and inimical to man, and where the ghosts (*sovai*) have their abode. The area friendly to man is thus reduced to a small space, whereas the area hostile to man is an infinite expanse. Thus man is forever at strife with all but a small circumscribed portion of the universe. The myth of pig-man restates in another idiom the message of the primal theft of the piece of string.

3. *Domestication of Pigs: Husbandry*

Separate though the worlds of bush and human habitation may be, Orokaiva still view them as linked by an exchange relationship. One side of this transaction has already been described in detail by Williams (1930:267ff.). A man becomes a *sovai* at death. As such he enters into various animals. An important class of *sovai* (though not all *sovai*) can be recognised by the abnormal appearance or behaviour of the animals into which they have entered. They are greatly feared and are thought responsible for a great variety of misfortunes. Thus if a man fears the supernatural dangers of the bush, he does not regard these as generated by anything inherent in nature, but as introduced by dead hunters and killers who retain their human wilfulness while deprived of human bonds.

In certain special circumstances bush creatures may re-enter the protected confines of human society. The most important example of such a reverse transaction between bush and village is furnished by the domestication of pigs. There is, of course, no zoological difference between wild and domestic pigs, both being scientifically known as *sus papuensis* and known in the vernacular as *o ohu*. The myths explaining the domestication of pigs are all very simple. In one of them the first pig ever killed by man was a sow marauding the taro gardens. After killing her, men heard a mournful song by the root of a tree. It was sung by her piglets who were thirsting for their mother's milk. The piglets were taken to the village and became the first domestic pigs. The piglets' song, of course, is still known.

The breed has continued until today, being constantly replenished by foundlings from the bush. As boars are castrated, sows mate in the bush. In the bush around Sivepe some wild boars must still exist, though these are probably the offspring of tame sows who have escaped to the bush.

The domestication of piglets is a complicated task which I once saw performed at Inonda. When a piglet was found in the bush it was given for rearing to an old woman who was an expert at domestication. She made a medicine by chewing together betelnut, *hingi* (a peppery leaf) and *arifa* root (in Sivepe *akore* root would have been used). She spat this medicine into all body apertures: mouth, eyes, ears, nose, rectum, genitals. A few hours later she carried the piglet to a creek, washed it and placed it in a string bag (*eti*) in the same way as a baby. Five days afterwards, the piglet could be seen walking through the village on a leash, held by its 'mother'. After two or three weeks, it was regarded as domesticated.

The medicine was intended to seal the piglet from *sovai* who might otherwise enter it. As a bush animal, the piglet was considered impure, dangerous, and liable to spirit entry. The Orokaiva believe that it is *sovai* contamination which

pig-lending becomes a simulation, on a minor scale, of the customs of marriage exchange, where a reciprocating pair of groups send back and forth a female marriage partner at intervals of one generation.

This assimilation of domesticated pigs to human members of exchanging social groups is emphasised by much customary behaviour towards these pigs. This behaviour goes beyond co-residence in the same house and the use of kinship terms of reference, but extends to strict taboos of wide range prohibiting the eating of domestic pigs by their rearers.

4. *Wild Pigs as Victims*

Williams (1930) describes in detail the techniques that are, or were, used for the hunting of pigs: the use of spears, pig-traps, and the collective burning of *kunai* grass to drive pigs towards their pursuers. I myself witnessed such a burn, in which three villages participated as owners of the burnt-over land (Inonda, Urio, Musou) as well as some hunters from Ajoro. The myths explaining the origin of the various techniques of hunting and of cooking the meat do not enlighten us greatly in the study of exchange, except to confirm a point already made in a previous chapter: the *dema* figure who is remembered as having 'given' a certain technique to mankind, is invariably described in the myth as the first *victim* of that technique. The ritual of killing is a very simple one: it consists in calling out one's clan name before striking the fatal blow. This is supposed to give the hunter the strength (*ivo*) he needs in order to kill. Both killer and victim are thus symbolically identified with a primal ancestor.

The killer of a wild pig is not bound by the same ritual restrictions as the killer of either a man or a domestic pig. Williams states that he found no rule prohibiting a man from eating his personal quarry. Nonetheless, I found that in practice the meat of the wild pig virtually always serves some purpose of exchange-sale, barter or the mediating of social relations. The two wild pigs killed by Inonda men during the hunt to which I have already referred will serve as an example.

Killer A presented his pig to his mother's brother who lives in Ajoro. Killer B presented his quarry to killer A, who is B's brother's wife's brother. A distributed most of the joints to men and women from Inonda (including B), and to two Ajoro men who had returned from the hunt empty-handed, but kept one joint. A's mother's brother kept part of the animal he had been given but distributed the rest of it to his Inonda relatives, including A., as well as several affines. In the end everyone in Inonda had received some meat, but sometimes this meat had gone through several hands. For instance, A's sister did not receive meat from the animal her brother had killed, but from the animal her brother received as a present. Her brother gave several joints to B and it was from one of these joints A's sister was able to eat, because B gave it to his own brother who was A's sister's husband.

After this set of circuitous transactions the fires were lit. I noticed that only some of the meat was boiled but that most of it was smoked for later use, In fact only a fraction of the two slaughtered pigs was eaten that night. The smoked meat was kept for a variety of transactions. In line with the modern trend, these included sale at the market, but there were also traditional prestations, e.g. a gift

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224 to a man who had lent an ornament for a recent ceremony. I was told that meat
825 is sometimes kept for 'months' so it can be offered at a feast or used to discharge
571 an obligation. The housewife smokes the meat over the fire every day so that, after a while, it becomes very 'strong'; the 'stronger' it is, the better.

[251] While the economic motivation in the final disposal of the joints is plain
431 enough, it is less easy to understand the elaborate exchanges immediately
[437] following the killing. There are no taboos that could explain why these exchanges were made. One might, of course, account for the whole series of gifts in the same way as I accounted for the taro gifts made between close associates: as a means of maintaining a quasi-commensal kind of social relationship. But such an explanation obscures an important difference between gifts of taro and pig meat, namely that gift taro is usually only a small part of the harvest, whereas it appears to be regular practice (even though not supported by taboo) to give
[262] away *all* the meat of a pig one has killed. There is a strong, empirically demonstrated, preference for eating pork that has been *given* rather than pork that has been personally killed.

262 The essential difference between taro and pork, as perceived by the Orokaiva, has already been discussed in a previous chapter. The difference is that taro is regarded as a staple food to keep men alive, whereas pork is regarded as a food of special power enabling men to succeed in tasks of great difficulty, in which
[778] success is always precarious. Pork has a special power or *ivo*. The reality of this belief is obvious from field observation. Meat-eating arouses in the Orokaiva a mood of extraordinary festivity and gaiety. After meat, he shows an exuberance and excitement Westerners display only when they have drunk a good deal or are 'turned on' by mild drugs. While one can think of biochemical causes for the Orokaiva behaviour, they explain this excitement themselves by referring to the *ivo* or spiritual qualities of meat.

778 These beliefs do not, in themselves, explain why it is considered better for
262 meat to be given rather than consumed by the killer. They do, however, carry us
224 back to the myth – already considered in detail – by which Orokaiva explain the origin of human *ivo*. *Ivo* was personified in Pig-man Totoima until his son
431 slew him and cut his body into pieces. These joints, shared out among men, made the people multiply so that men are now spread throughout the world.
● 773 The important point to note in this myth is that *ivo* did not come from the mere eating of the meat, but from the sharing out, following by the eating. If *ivo* is to be attained, it has to be through the re-enactment of the myth, which means not only the eating but also the sharing out. This sharing out is always done by cutting a pig into the very same joints as those into which the dead Totoima was dissected. Hence pork – whether derived from a wild or a domesticated pig – is magically most effective if it is a gift.

5. *Domesticated Pig as Victim*

231 Pig meat provided at the more important ceremonies of the Orokaiva comes far
825 more frequently from domesticated than from wild pig. One reason for this is obviously practical: the more important ceremonies require very intricate planning in many spheres. The meat supply, which is a crucial requirement for such ceremonies, cannot be left to chance, though wild pork can usually serve to

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574 621 244 The first plans for a feast are laid at least one year in advance, as it involves extra plantings of taro as well as economising on pigs. By the end of December, the feast taro ought to have finished flowering and the tubers ought to have formed. It is only then that the chances of an abundant harvest can be reasonably assessed. The feast-giver stealthily tours the village gardens to see whether the taro are 'ready', collecting tubers in gardens where tubers have formed and collecting flowers in those gardens which are lagging behind. He hides these specimens in his house. If his examination has been successful, he calls a meeting attended by all the men of the village (but not the women) at which the assembled people formally acknowledge that they are planning a feast. The leader will display the taro and the flowers he has collected, thus demonstrating visibly whose gardens will and will not be able to contribute food to the feast. The meeting decides who will be invited to the feast. The men share the meat of an animal, traditionally a pig, but nowadays often a rooster.

This ritual is clearly intended to remove obstacles that might prevent [773] harmonious social relations from being established at the feast. I have already discussed[5] a myth which contained a charter for this custom of examining the gardens: it told the story of a food shortage which caused a quarrel and concluded with the enunciation by a *dema* of a rule that feasts should in future be held only in times of abundance. It is not sufficient, of course, for the people to say and to believe that there will be abundance. Abundance must be established ritually so as to be placed beyond human dispute.

574 621 [554] The pig sacrifice at this meeting serves to remove any latent hostility between the men of the group, so that all will be united and co-operate unreservedly towards the success of the feast. Though the *pondo kiari embo* tends to be a man of much influence in the village, he does not normally have any authority over resources held by any extended family other than his own. It is only for the specific purpose of feast-giving that he is given such authority, and it is limited in time from the meeting just described until the day of the feast itself. The [422] [425] meeting thus temporarily changes the authority structure of the village. The growing taro crop and the available pigs become, at least ideally, the corporate property of the village, whereas normally they are family property. The *pondo kiari embo* becomes, at least formally and ritually, the controller of this property. The unit of the group of offerers of the sacrifice is a necessary condition for the success of the rituals that follow.

621 574 431 276 562 The same principle underlies one detail of the ritual taro display to which I have not yet made reference. At the meeting 'special betelnuts' (I do not know just what medicine is used on them) are distributed by the feast-giver to be shared, after the meeting, between the men and their wives. The men are to ask their wives whether the taro are ready. This is a ritual question, as the men go to the garden daily, but it is the women who are supposed to have charge of growing taro and – in a ritual sense – the men therefore do not know. After receiving an answer to this question, the husband will share the 'special' betelnut with his wife. While the enacting of this ritual would make even the most slow-witted of women aware of what is afoot, the women should still supposedly remain ignorant of the plan to hold a feast. Informants readily admit that this ignorance is a fiction. The significance of the shared betelnut is to provide against the anger a wife might feel when the taro harvest over which she has ritual control is

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We shall need to consider exchange from two points of view: first, as in the preceding chapters, we may consider it phenomenologically, from the viewpoint of the transactional polarity of the exchange partners; secondly, we may consider it from the viewpoint of symbolic thought, as something like the dialogue between *Yin* and *Yang*, as the product of Orokaiva intelligence reflecting upon affective experience.[1] It is this second approach which will be appropriate for much of our discussion about the remarkable Orokaiva myth of the coconut and the betelnut.

2. *The Minor Foods: Objects of Mediation and Paired Symbols*

Although this chapter will deal mainly with the coconut and betelnut, it will be useful first to set this couple into a wider ecological and cultural context. Coconut and betelnut have been chosen for detailed treatment out of a large number of minor foods of the Orokaiva, many of which have their special importance as objects of mediation. An interesting aspect of these minor foods is that Orokaiva symbolic thought arranges them in couples to which a male/female opposition is usually ascribed. Very often these plant couples are grown in close association with one another and it is claimed that they will not prosper unless they are planted together and that, in their wild state, they are also found together. The symbolic association of these pairs of plants may be based on any of a number of shared characteristics: the similar outward appearance of the fruit, a coincidence in the time of fruiting, a similarity in culinary use, in taste, in supposed physiological effects of the fruit when eaten. Sometimes the pair of plants are linked in ritual use and in a common myth.

Among examples of this pairing tendency that may be quoted are two varieties of breadfruit, called *oga* and *eumba*; two condiments important in initiation ritual: the *puga* nut and the salt vine *hoe*; the yam and a red fruit called *hamesi*. The coconut (*vu*) and betelnut or *areca* (*sa*) are similarly a pair of subsidiary foods between which there are important points of resemblance which led to their being paired together, and important points of difference which led one of them to be classified as male and the other as female.

Coconut and betelnut are planted together in villages and also in gardens. Both nuts are eaten raw, young coconuts for refreshment, *areca* for relaxation, and both are consumed between meals. Both nuts grow on palms. Both foods have notable (though different) biochemical effects on those who eat them. Both foods are standard gifts made to strangers who visit a village, a coconut being offered as refreshment immediately upon arrival while betelnut is chewed (along with *hingi* pepper and lime) during the conversation. The two nuts are also associated in ritual use. At mortuary feasts, the most important gift objects are large quantities of betelnuts and coconuts harvested from the palms of the deceased, while dry coconut and betelnut are strewn on graves by affines of the deceased. Finally, coconut and betelnut are associated in an important myth which I intend to discuss in detail.

In studying plant couples such as coconut and betelnut two aspects of exchange need to be considered: first, exchanges between persons in which the food products appear as objects of mediation and secondly, mythical exchanges between the male and female plant, where the two plants appear as exchange

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TABLE VIII/1

'ARECA' TRANSACTIONS: SIVEPE AND INONDA

The following figures group together transactions involving *areca* nuts and lime used for chewing with *areca*.

(*Source*: Waddell and Krinks, 1968: 180, 210, 218, 237, 265, 270, 272)

	Sivepe		*Inonda*	
	Acquired	*Disposed*	*Acquired*	*Disposed*
Total transactions (lbs.)	124	114	93	39
Distribution (%)				
within village	56%	44%	30%	57%
outside village	44%	56%	70%	43%
Non-monetary transactions (lbs.)	107	100	83?	38?
Monetary transactions (lbs.)	17	15	9.8	1.0
($)	3.70	3.00	2.06	0.20
Donors and recipients by sex: Men	52%	71%	42%	36%
Women	48%	29%	58%	64%

biochemical action differs from that of the coconut (narcotic rather than nutritive), so its symbolic significance in magic and ritual also differs. A girl carries a bunch of betelnut at the ceremony concluding her seclusion after first menstruation. She also has betelnut to offer to a man at lovers' meetings.

The only betelnut myth recorded by Williams (1928: 123) emphasises the nut's aphrodisiac associations. The betel palm had a liaison with a village woman. Every night it bent over her house to visit her; every morning, as the birds woke, it bent back to stand once more as an immobile palm but left around her house a litter of small flowers. When the intrigue was discovered, the jealous husband cut down the palm. The lover cried as he fell: 'Now I am a man no longer but a mere betel palm; take these nuts and eat them.' This myth resembles the one collected by myself in that the hero was a male, although the *areca* palm is classified by Orokaiva as a female plant. The explanation of this remarkable discrepancy will be one of the main tasks of the present chapter.

The symbolic significance of the betelnut is not, however, exhausted by its role as a catalyst in sexual love. One may call it, more properly, a catalyst in any kind of social exchange. As such, it helps to restore amity between former enemies. Its narcotic action raises the spirits of both opponents to the sphere of primal time when no strife existed. In sexual love, according to Orokaiva, feminine sexuality is dangerous, even lethal, to man in certain circumstances, a notion which is reflected in a number of avoidances woman must practice in order to avoid polluting and ritually killing a man. In courtship, the woman must take the initiative; the man is represented as slow and reluctant, precisely

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because of the dangers he fears from contact with the female. By offering betelnut, woman overcomes this reluctance in man and draws him into the sexual exchange she desires.

5. *The Myth of Coconut and Betelnut*

Though we have now summarised the exchange cycles mediated by coconut and betelnut, we have not shown why these objects of mediation are considered to be efficacious in exchange. In past chapters we have explained efficacity in terms of indigenous philosophy. Indigenous logic generally relies on a myth in which a specific precept is either explicitly stated or implied. By giving this precept the status of an axiom, we can show by logical deduction that a thing (land, taro, pig, etc.) can have potency as an object of mediation in certain transactions.[2]

This kind of explanation of mediation draws on mythical sources much in the same way as Malinowski. Malinowski held that the 'function' of a myth is the charter it provides for customary rules. I can see no objection to this approach as long as we can be sure, from independent evidence, that charter and custom really coincide, which is not always the case, and as long as we check carefully how informants perform the logical deduction. If charter and custom do not coincide, we need to go beyond Malinowski's techniques of myth analysis and seek out the message by decoding the symbolic language of the myth. The betelnut myth already quoted provides an instance of discrepancy between myth and custom.[3] According to the myth it is the man who gives betelnut to the woman, whereas we know that in girls' initiation ritual and in courting custom, i.e. in the most structured betelnut presentations, the *woman* plays the role of donor and the plant is classified as feminine.

Such a discrepancy might easily be dismissed as too trivial for investigation but for the fact that it seems to be related to the disagreement between Mauss and Lévi-Strauss to which I referred earlier in this chapter. Mauss' theory of the gift would not easily explain this type of reversal, which would serve as a useful corroboration of Lévi-Strauss' contention that the 'contradiction' in the donor-recipient relationship may be illusory. I am not suggesting that his theory can be proved by empirical evidence, but only that it can be corroborated if we find evidence that Orokaiva informants do not treat exchange as purely magical, but recognise its synthetic character in their reasoning about myth, ritual and rules of behaviour.

The beginning of the myth to be discussed here is well-known; I was told it several times and Williams also recorded it (1928: 122). Here follows a summary of a version I collected on tape in the Orokaiva language: A beautiful girl, noted for her remarkable breasts, has the misfortune to kill all the young men with whom she sleeps. Her breasts prick and kill them. She warns them to sleep against her back but they never follow this advice. The girl's brother becomes concerned and tells her that he personally will choose her next sleeping partner. He chooses his own *dambo*, i.e. his wife's brother. He tells his *dambo*:

> Because mistakes were made other bachelors have died, but, my *dambo*, my true *dambo*, she is going to sleep; she is going up to bed. Therefore see that all is properly prepared and the bed is properly made for sleeping.

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But this handsome young man, also, is pierced by the girl's breasts and killed. The brother buries his brother-in-law, then kills his sister and buries her beside the other grave.

After a mourning period the brother takes his wife to the two graves. They find a cocopalm in full bearing above the sister's grave. An *areca* palm has grown over the grave of the young man. Heaps of dry nuts are lying on the ground. That is how these two palms originated. He says:

> Wife, as we come close, we see coconut and *areca* growing where only grass grew before. Dry coconuts have fallen and are rotting away; dry *areca* nuts are growing shoots. It can be seen from my sister's grave that she was a creature of misfortune (*embavo*) and that the bachelors' deaths were her doing.
>
> The coconuts growing in the grave must stay there and the *areca* growing on *dambo's* grave must likewise stay. See to it.

The hero opens a dry coconut, then a budding coconut. Though he declares that he will die if he eats these nuts, his wife desires them, they are so delicious. He feeds them to the dog, expecting it to die, but it does not. He then declares:

> Wife, cocopalms are growing in my sister's grave, but the flower clusters on the stem have pointed sheaths (*peperuma*) which puncture the skin and make men die. It is always said that people die when that happens. The mass of sheaths will strike men with the sleep of death; when the sheaths have struck, men will die utterly. That was the cause of the girl's death. When I came here and saw coconut growing out of her grave and dry nuts fallen on the ground, I began to understand that my sister had killed the men I had carried to their graves and buried. . . .
>
> When a man has collected *areca*, he gives it back to a girl. When that girl has helped to fetch coconut, she in turn gives it to the man. It therefore belongs to the man. This being so, the coconut is a man but the *areca* is a girl; for this reason, girls give *areca*.

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On the level of social structure, this myth is concerned with the Orokaiva institution of sister exchange marriage. Though such arrangements were not very frequent among the Orokaiva (I would estimate about 5 per cent of all marriages), sister exchange marriages are strongly idealised, as I have shown elsewhere. In this myth, a man arranges such an exchange marriage for his sister because he evidently believes it provides more protection against magical dangers than any other. When this ends in disaster, the brother feels entitled to assume there is no bachelor with whom his sister can sleep safely, as he explains in a passage not quoted here. He therefore kills her, but right through the story his *dambo* (wife's brother) continues to be regarded as husband of his sister. It is for him, rather than for any other man she has slept with and killed, that she grows coconuts. In fact it is the bond of love between the dead couple which gives the whole tale its meaning. The closeness of this bond is not explained psychologically by personal sentiments existing between the lovers, but structurally, by sister exchange marriage.

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On the level of social exchange, the myth depends largely on rather complex and condensed ideological statements made by the hero. I have translated the

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crucial passages verbatim. In the full text, the brother comes back four or five times to the miracle that chiefly concerns him: the symbiosis of coconut and areca, dropping their fruits side by side and thus (as he implies rather than states) fertilising one another. Taking this symbiosis as a fact of nature, the hero uses it to explain several other mysterious facts: (*a*) why all the bachelors died; (*b*) the ritual uses of coconut and *areca*; (*c*) why the Orokaiva consider coconut masculine, *areca* feminine. To answer the first question, he refers to an easily verified fact: the *peperuma* of the coconut do look like a girl's breasts; they are very dangerous if one falls upon them with any force. His sister was clearly an *embavo*, a coconut spirit. In this way the deaths are, to Orokaiva thought, adequately accounted for.

The hero explains two types of ritual uses of coconut and *areca*, namely those related to mortuary feasts and those where the sex of the recipient of the nuts is opposite to that of the donor. The instruction that nobody should eat the nuts lying under the trees, on pain of death, constitutes a mythological charter for the taboo placed upon the cocopalms and *areca* palms owned by a person recently dead. An informant explained a further implication to me, which is not very clear from the version I quoted: namely that it is customary to place coconuts and *areca* nuts upon the grave of a dead affine. Thus it was the duty of the hero to place coconuts and *areca* nuts upon the grave of his brother-in-law; and the duty of his wife to do the same for the grave of her sister-in-law. In order to clarify these points, the myth tells of the wife's desire to eat the nuts and the hero's refusal to let her have them.

In a somewhat elliptical manner, the hero lists or implies three sets of rules concerning gifts of coconut and *areca*, where the sex of the recipient of the nuts is opposite to that of the donor. The sets are:

Areca	*Coconut*
1(*a*) The man fetches the nuts from the tree.	1(*b*) The woman *helps to fetch* the nuts from the tree.
2(*a*) The man gives the nuts to the woman.	2(*b*) The woman cooks the nuts for the man.
3(*a*) The girl offers nuts to her lover and carries an offering of nuts at initiation.	3(*b*) At a girl's initiation, a man prepares coconut oil which is used as a ritual cosmetic.

The first opposition is made quite explicit in the hero's speech, but is not free from casuistry. Men usually fetch not only *areca* but also coconuts from the high palms on which they grow. The woman may help by collecting coconuts once they have dropped to the ground, and by carrying them home. Very often, however, the coconuts are carried by men, who tie two nuts to a stalk, thus creating a huge effigy of a phallus. The feeble empirical basis of this opposition only serves to emphasise that we are here being taught an ideology which requires the opposition.

The hero's second opposition centres on the culinary use made of the nuts. *Areca*, in opposition to coconut, has no place in the kitchen. The fact that coconut is also often eaten raw would weaken the opposition, but this is

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773 suppressed. The third opposition is in fact the strongest, but it is stated in a
824 rather elliptical manner. We are told that, in ritual, girls give *areca* to men, but
539 the opposite statement is omitted, viz. that in the same initiatory context *men* (but never women) pour coconut oil over girls.

In the narrator's mind all these oppositions are probably subordinate to a philosophical question: why the Orokaiva consider coconut masculine, *areca* feminine. Numerous informants have confirmed this classification in conversations with me. In this story, however, it is not presented as a 'fact', but is deduced in a logical manner. The words used make it clear that we have to do with a logical deduction:

> *Ainge* embo amina ainge ena. Embo amina *ainge eto*, erevi u ra embo erevi u ra; te sa erevi meni kakara ra; – *ainge eto* ikena.

This passage, (translated above, p. 17) contains the notion of logical entailment three times: *because* the girl gives coconut to the man, it *therefore* belongs to the man. *Because* coconut belongs to a man, *therefore* coconut is masculine. *Because areca* is a girl, girls give *areca*. The problem, for those who do not know Orokaiva culture, is that every one of the conclusions appears to lack logical force. Furthermore, it will be noticed that, from a formal viewpoint, the narrator's argument proceeds quite differently for men and for girls. This difference also needs explanation.

When I heard this tale, I could not help arguing with my informant. I said: if the coconut grew out of the girl's grave and she later gave the coconut to a man, would it not follow then that the coconut is feminine? My informant received this argument with a tinge of pity. It proved to him, if any proof were needed, that white men are indeed quite incapable of abstract reasoning. It took him some time to understand what problem I could possibly be having. Finally he said: 'The girl intended these coconuts as gifts for a man; therefore, they must be masculine.' At that point I remembered I had heard this argument somewhere before: in Levi-Strauss' introduction to Marcel Mauss, *Sociologie et anthropologie*. If we produce something that is *intended to be given away*, it was called into being by a prior relationship between donor and recipient, and could not be utilised by the former without losing its predetermined nature.

We find the same line of thought elsewhere in Orokaiva culture: pigs cannot be eaten by those who reared them because they are, from the beginning, set apart as gift objects. The most striking and intimate instance may be found in a myth of a woman who has a detachable vagina. She pretends to her husband she has lost it: 'I dropped your vagina in the water.' The husband looks for it between the stones of the river: 'I am looking for my vagina.'

In all these cases the gift object partakes of the nature of the recipient. However, the narrator appears to follow a quite different line of reasoning when he says. 'Because *areca* is a girl, girls give *areca*.' There is an apparent contradiction here, resolved only when we recognise that two different types of gift must be distinguished – perhaps we are allowed to call them metaphoric and metonymic. If we call a coconut a man or a man a coconut, we are using a metaphor. Furthermore, if we proceed to call an *areca* 'a girl', we are setting up a metaphoric opposition (coconut/*areca*) which corresponds to the real opposition (man/woman). When Sperber (1968) speaks of 'code structures', he is

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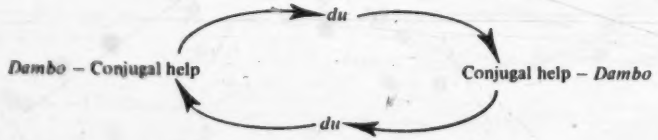
principally referring to classificatory systems built up from such metaphoric oppositions. When I use the term 'metaphoric gift', I mean a gift about which we are told in a story, the message of the story being that gift and recipient are metaphorically identical. The point of the story is to establish the symbiosis of men and women, the use of the metaphor. An example of such a story would be the gift of sacred emblems to the infant Dionysus in Orphic myth. This story tells us how Dionysus received certain gifts (cone, bullroarer, golden apples, mirror, knuckle-bone, tuft of wool) which de ined his nature. In the same way, in Orokaiva myth, men are given a coconut nature and women an areca nature.

Orokaiva informants offer what they regard as empirical evidence for this. Coconut may be recognised as a man because the palm germinates slowly and the fruit comes to maturity slowly ('it comes slowly'). Likewise, so I was told, the male is slow to be sexually aroused and to desire women. *Areca* may be recognised as a girl because it germinates and comes to maturity quickly – the fruit matures faster than the coconut. Likewise woman is quick to be sexually aroused and to feel desire for a man. In this analogy the botanical facts are evident but the psychological generalisations describe no more, perhaps, than Orokaiva role expectations.

We may clarify the myth and its philosophical message to a certain extent by an analysis on the level of exchange cycles. The fundamental cycle is obviously the following:

MODEL 29



This is the model of sister exchange marriage where two men become brothers-in-law by each giving their sisters (*du*) to the other in marriage. If we now remember the identification between woman and betelnut (*sā*), and the social relationship which is considered normal between *dambo*, we may substitute as follows:

MODEL 30

We thus derive the rather interesting conclusion that the sense of an exchange of betelnut between men is that they are symbolically exchanging sisters. This is a rather bold conclusion which is best left as a speculation to be explored in later

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enquiries. The same applies to a second conclusion that may be derived from the myth: that a man who gives a visitor coconut to drink is symbolically giving his own sexuality.

6. *Analysis of the Myth*[4]

As these implications of the model may arouse scepticism, a more analytical study of the myth seems desirable. One procedure which may lead to clarification is to compare the coconut/betelnut myth with the myth of Totoima discussed in previous chapters. The structural homology between the two myths is obvious enough. In the Totoima myth a *man wittingly* killed and *ate* a *son*, was transformed into *pig meat*, and distributed to mankind. He *did not intend* to make any gifts nor were any intended for him. In the coconut myth a *woman unwittingly* killed but *did not eat* a *spouse*, was transformed into *coconut*, distributed to mankind. She *intended* to make a gift and a return gift was intended for her.

We may isolate three distinctive features. On the ecological level we find an opposition between two types of symbiosis. The Totoima myth shows a predatory cycle: pig eats taro; man eats pig; thus strengthened, man causes more taro to grow. The coconut/betelnut myth shows the association of two plants always growing together, such that the presence of the one may be thought to stimulate the growth of the other. On the social level we find an opposition between the kin relationships holding between the principal participants. They may be represented as follows:

In the Totoima myth, the critical transaction was between the senior and junior generation, while in the coconut/betelnut myth it was between the male and female characters. Psychologically, the opposition was that in the Totoima myth the protagonists were motivated to kill and eat each other, while in the coconut/betelnut myth they were motivated by sexual love.

Both myths are concerned with exchange, viewed ecologically, socially and psychologically, but in the first myth exchange is diachronic, whereas in the second it is contemporaneous. Where exchange is diachronic, B cannot reach the fullness of prosperity without the death of A, a process symbolised ecologically by predation, on the social level by intergenerational competition and on the psychological level by the desire to kill the father. Where exchange is contemporaneous, B cannot reach the fullness of prosperity without the simultaneous prosperity of A, a process symbolised ecologically by plant associations, socially by the marriage relationship and psychologically by conjugal love.

Diachronic exchange is, on the ecological level, a familiar and empirically verifiable fact. On the social level, however, the competitive and negative aspect

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of the father-son relationship is suppressed by consciousness, among the Orokaiva as among ourselves, and is revealed only in dreams, myths and other messages from the unconscious. In contrast, synchronic exchange – as the love between spouses, the amity between affines – is overtly recognised and empirically verifiable on the social level. It is, however, purely imaginary on the ecological level, as plant associations, such as that of coconut and betelnut, *oga* and *cumba*, *puga* and *hoe*, yam and *hamesi*, are not necessarily found in nature but are generally brought about by man for magico-religious reasons. When man establishes these plant associations he is recreating on the ecological level the symbolic equivalents of the social relations on which his prosperity depends.

These social relations are, as we have seen, of two types. In sexual love we find the mystical and irrevocable unity of opposites where objects of mediation become, in the last analysis, irrelevant. But in other social exchanges we find a necessity for objects of mediation establishing a link between self and other. This relationship is exemplified in its purest form in model 29, the model of sister exchange, where a relationship between *dambo* is mediated by an exchange of sisters. But in models 28 and 30 we find important variants, where betelnut and coconut are substituted to mediate the exchange. Precisely because neither of these two products is of any great economic value, they are appropriate for serving as tokens of exchange, a signal of the potential existence of exchange, between any partners, though in the myth and in mortuary ritual this exchange takes place between the prototype-partners of the Orokaiva, the *dambo*. The rather bold suggestion I made at the end of the previous section therefore corresponds to a hidden reality, namely that gifts of coconut and betelnut are symbolic of sexual exchange. It is significant, in this regard, that sisters-in-law address each other by the term *bi*, which means penis.

REFERENCES

1 I am referring here to Radcliffe-Brown's discussion on Yin and Yang as an example of complementary opposition (1951) and to Lévi-Strauss' adoption of this example to present his theory concerning the real nature of totemism (Lévi-Strauss 1962T). Coconut and betelnut, in the myth discussed in the present chapter, may be seen as a further example of the same principle.

2 This type of logic, first developed by Gentzen in 1934, was adopted afterwards by Popper and has been shown to be the basis of primitive systems of thought (Jarvie 1964). It requires no investigation into the truth value of axioms. Gentzen called it 'natural deduction'.

3 Though Malinowski held (1926M) that 'myth serves principally to establish a sociological charter, or a retrospective moral pattern of behaviour, or the primeval supreme miracle of magic', he knew very well that the charter is occasionally 'flagrantly violated' by the actual norms of a society. He also recognised that where we find a fully institutionalised violation of a mythical charter, we should seek an explanation for the discrepancy. Malinowski even took initial steps towards such explanation: 'This violation always takes place when the local claims of an autochthonous clan . . . are overriden by an immigrant clan. Then a conflict of principles is created . . . ' (1926M; reprinted 1954: 117)

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121 A very similar point was made by Lévi-Strauss in 'Legeste d'Asdiwal'. After pointing out that the institutions described in myths can be the very opposite of real institutions, he argues that any such discrepancy 'implies an admission that the social facts are marred by an insurmountable contradiction'. By investigating such contradictions, we may find means of 'reaching unconscious categories' (1961: 1110–1). This is precisely the strategy I have adopted in the present chapter.

539 793 4 I have followed a method demonstrated by Lévi-Strauss in *Le cru et le cuit* (1964). I have shown that the two myths discussed in this section are isomorphous; I have isolated their distinctive features and posited that they are interrelated. I found that in each myth three levels (botanical, social, physiological) were superimposed and that each level transmitted the same message. Between the two myths, there was an inversion of the codes and the message (1964: 205, 250–2).

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Similarly, the fact that these groupings together call themselves a clan (*javo wahai*) does not imply the actual existence of agnatic connection. The term means 'one name', and that is all they share, except for uterine links which buttress the social relations between them. The clan name is important as a symbol of political identification. The close bonds between the clan segments are evident in residence patterns, in daily intercourse and mutual assistance in practical matters, though not in ritual or other formal organisation.

The second principle of grouping is the plant emblem (*hae*), already recognised by Williams (1925, 1930) as important in the Orokaiva social system. Williams describes it as 'a distinctive emblem or associate' of a clan, though he recognised it could belong merely to a segment of a clan. Most of them are vegetable species, though almost any natural or cultural object may be designated as *hae*. Williams lists three main uses: as an identity token (to mark a visit by the owner), as a mark of individual abstinence (a self-inflicted taboo, usually shown to indicate a grievance) and as a village taboo post (prohibiting access). The *hae* is regarded as an ancestor, which does not signify, as Williams carefully pointed out, that men believe themselves to be physically descendants of plants, but that the ancestor was a man bearing the name of that plant. Clan and personal names are commonly plant names and often the *hae* of a clan and its name are identical. On the question whether the *hae* is a totem, he remarked that, whatever we call it, 'it will be obvious that it is very much like one.' He noted some forms of religious respect toward *hae*, notably eating and naming taboos.

To this information we may add that in our experience the term *hae* is frequently used to describe a social group made up of persons sharing a *hae*, and that the group to which it is applied is not the clan (*javo wahai*) but a smaller formation often about the same size as a 'clan segment' or 'lineage'. As such, they are probably the basic larger unit of Orokaiva social structure.

Every individual respects a number of paternal and a number of maternal *hae*. Theoretically, a person passes on his father's but not his mother's *hae* to the next generation so that the *hae* would form an agnatic group. Most individuals have about five *hae* in regular use. I recorded forty-two *hae* names in a population of 135.

There would normally be one *hae* common to a *javo wahai*. Less wide-ranging and more distinctive *hae* would often be of more social importance. Those who were related to the same distinctive *hae* would co-operate in marriage and mortuary payments and maintain a strict exogamy rule. Though they claimed their group to be composed wholly of agnates and children of agnates, there were in fact several cases of uterine transmission for more than one generation, especially where marriages were uxorilocal. Some *hae* became unusually popular, like *topu*, a tree name which became a *hae* after a Sivepe woman died by falling off a *topu* tree. She was given the necronym Topugoru, after which all her lineal descendants adopted *topu* as a *hae*, In other instances again, persons sharing the same *hae* were quite plainly unrelated in a physical sense. In fact the membership of none of the eleven most numerous plant emblem groups was drawn from a single clan segment or even a single local clan group.

It follows that the social group called *hae* never has a membership identical with that of a lineage, if we use that term in the sense of Crocombe, Hogbin or

killed and eaten and is remembered as the demigod who made these gifts to mankind. When such gifts are made today it would seem that the donor is symbolically sacrificing himself to the recipients. The custom of giving clothes and cooking pots goes back to a myth where a woman is described as living alone and naked and without fire, so that she had to prepare her food by letting the sun burn it. Two men came, gave her a skirt, brought her fire and thus acted as her deliverers. These gifts, far from being 'equivalent' to a woman, are male gifts *for* a woman, and emphasise the blessings of the cultural institution of marriage. On the significance of ornaments as part of a wedding gift I am less certain, but the evidence suggests that they are pledges. They are objects of great magical power, the mere possession of which is thought to demonstrate that their owner adheres to moral principles. The gift of such objects to another party demonstrates that the donor possesses such moral objects, pledges that he will show propriety in his behaviour towards the recipient and enjoins the recipient to do the same for him.

In combination, the *dorobu* gifts convey a clear and appropriate message: the wife-taker acknowledges his indebtedness, emphasises that by taking a woman in marriage he conveys a great blessing upon her and makes pledges which ideally are binding on both parties. Acceptance of these gifts need imply no more than that the wife-givers acquiesce in the *status quo* (which has been established by abduction or elopement). Until the affines make counter gifts, *dorobu* does not even establish social relations between the two sides. This does not happen until the bridegroom's sister has bred and given a pig to him and until the bride's mother has bred and given a pig to her son-in-law. It is only then that a limited commensality between the two sides is established: they have a meal together at which the *imbohi* pretends to eat.

The continuing avoidances and dangers characteristic of Orokaiva affinal relations are all of a kind very familiar in other parts of the world, but the less usual feature is that joking relations, coldness and deliberate social distance can be terminated by the cancellation of the debt through exchange marriage. The strife of 'ordinary' affinal relations is seen as part of a longer cycle which stretches from the sister exchange marriage established as ideal by the ancestors to exchange marriages that remain present as a constant possibility.

9. *Application of the Model to Clan Formation*

The model of marriage exchange as presented here envisages the permanent cyclical recurrence, in the history of any given social group, of restricted and generalised exchange, or – as one might say – of a state of matrimonial amity and strife, unity and division. This model is given additional credibility if we consider some Orokaiva theories about social relations and if we consider the processes of clan formation.

On social philosophy only a very brief reference is appropriate here. The Orokaiva believe that due to actions of their primal ancestors, men are in permanent strife with one another and for that reason dwell apart in separate villages. They express this belief quite explicitly when explaining some of their own myths. I have described above (Chapter III) an Orokaiva myth on the origin

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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of feasts, explaining why there is a rule that feasts may be held only when it is ritually established that food will be plentiful.

Discussion of this myth made it clear that the feast is regarded as a purely temporary interruption of the state of strife, but that it can restore a temporary harmony if ritual is properly observed. The feast-givers must have an abundance of food; they must give everything they have to their guests. Their ancestors will then bless them; their enemies will remove evil spells from their lands, and their gardens will greatly prosper afterwards.

At a feast the Orokaiva became ritually and spiritually identified with their primal ancestors and re-enact the peace and harmony that existed in original time before strife began. It was, however, the traditional belief that such a state could not be expected to last; that after the feast strife would re-assert itself. The myth instructed man to hold feasts 'from time to time', the interval between one feast and another being characterised by food shortage and warfare. Peace was not considered to be a possible permanent state, though my informants remarked that since the coming of the white man it had become so.

We find a similar cyclical pattern in the marriage practices of social groups. Let us take as the commencement of the cycle a crisis such as a military defeat or serious quarrel which leads a fragment of a social group to separate, move some distance away and establish a new settlement. Such a group will usually begin to intermarry with new groups using devices such as abduction and elopement. Gradually, they will set up a number of reciprocal arrangements with groups in the vicinity. When relations with reciprocating groups become very close, the time will come, usually after two or three generations, when marriages between these groups become impossible under the rules. At this point the former affines have all been turned into notional consanguines. Unless the two sides quarrel (which is not infrequent), the stage is now set for clan fusion.

It could be demonstrated, from a detailed analysis of Sivepe marriages, that the composition of both the Seho and the Jegase local clan groups may be explained by this process. Three of the four 'lineages' of which the Jegase group is composed have migrated to Sivepe since the beginning of the century. One of the waves of migrants already bore the clan name Jegase when they lived at Kiorota, their village of origin. The other two groups assumed it quite recently, after more than two generations of residence and intermarriage. Seho was welded together a good deal earlier than Jegase, so that the lineages are no longer commonly distinguished by name, and the ideology of common agnatic origin is far more firmly established. Seho must, however, have had four lineages at one time and I was able to establish the village of origin of three of them, as well as numerous intermarriages with the Seho of Sivepe after arrival. Intermarriage seems to have become more difficult between these Seho lineages about fifty years ago, and fusion must have been complete by 1925. A marriage between two Seho lineages arranged around 1935 was the last, and caused much annoyance though there was no common *hae*.

I am not suggesting that the process described here explains all Orokaiva clan fusions, but only that the marriage system does in fact turn groups of affines into consanguines and that these consanguines if they live close together tend to assume a common clan name. The importance of this process for the study of kinship structure lies in the fact that it is explicable neither by rules of restricted

19: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

II

My fieldwork in 1970 was planned to obtain Orokaiva texts describing and explaining the Orokaiva exchange system. In Sivepe, the principal village of my 1966–67 research, I found two very good Orokaiva informants willing to record on tape their reply to the question: 'what is exchange?'. The recordings, made in a single day, took the form of dialogues between the two informants after the style of radio interviews. I did not intervene except at the outset, to present the question.

Prior to the taped discussion, I tried to establish whether Orokaiva have any notions corresponding to Mauss's theory of the three general obligations of giving, receiving and repaying gifts. I had no difficulty in finding strong prescriptions for the first of these, namely giving. As for receiving and repaying, I searched assiduously for evidence of a general obligation but could find only a number of specific contexts where repayment was obligatory as well as some ritual contexts where receiving was obligatory. On the other hand, the general obligation to give turned out to be a key principle of Orokaiva ideology.

The verb for making a gift is *ikari* which also means 'to put down, to forward, to throw away' and in sexual intercourse, to ejaculate. In general, therefore, *ikari* implies a recipient, but not invariably. *Ikari* is ubiquitous in everyday life. A person makes and receives probably dozens of gifts in an average day. Nearly all these are small gifts which in themselves have little economic value: dishes of cooked taro, coconuts, areca nuts and the 'fixing' of betel nut, tauga nuts, tobacco and paper for rolling cigarettes. Some of these occasions for *ikari* involve two persons, donor and recipient, but many others involve several, namely one donor and several recipients. Coconuts, betel nuts, tauga nuts, tobacco are usually shared out by those who happen to have a supply to all those who happen to be around when the sharing out is done. The term for sharing out is *hande ari*; the word *hande* may be glossed as 'generous', 'generosity'. It applies irrespective of the economic value of the objects shared out. A man generous and clever in giving is called a *hande embo*.

This concept is distinct from that of reciprocity; the generous man is not, of course, he who gives when he expects a big return, but he who gives when he expects none. This aspect of *hande ari* is emphasised in ideological discourse, as an example of which I was quoted a simple story which, so I was told, Orokaiva parents teach their children. Some variants of this story are of great anthropological interest but the Orokaiva children's version given to me has the form of a simple moral tale.[4] The hero and his wife, both filthy, ill-dressed, covered in scabies, came from the coast to an inland village as part of a visiting party. The other members of the party were received hospitably and invited to stay in one or another of houses in the host village. The dishevelled couple, however, were left standing in the burning sun, as nobody wanted them for exchange partners. (Gift exchange partnerships between individuals tend to be established by just this kind of invitation by a man from the host group to a stranger from the guest group. When the stranger leaves for his home, his host

19: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

will make him a present; when the host village makes a return visit to the village of their previous guests, individual partnerships tend to be maintained, so that each man can make a return gift to his previous host.)

Finally a girl whose father was absent from the village invited the two strangers into her house. The father, upon his return home, accepted the hero as guest and partner and performed all the proper duties of a host tending their hair, dressing them in new raiment, feeding them, presenting them with gifts. When the people of the host village went down to the coast to return the visit, they were received most stingily, except for the man who had hosted the hero. For the hero turned out to be a man of fabulous riches with which he loaded the only guest who had given evidence of a spirit of generosity.

The hero's name, Javaite Poromo, is said to mean 'giving food to friends', a gloss I was unable to check as the words are not otherwise part of current Orokaiva vocabulary. 'Javaite' is called out at feasts in the sense of 'come hither'. The conclusion to this tale is a long recitation by Javaite Poromo on the rules of gift exchange; he is thus presented as the hero who established this institution among Orokaiva. The rules, as stated in the text, did no more than restate a number of rules I had already elicited in previous interviews and to which reference will be made below. The essential point, for the present, is that the *hande embo* is he who gives without thought of return, in other words, for whom giving is a categorical imperative. It is reinforced by sanctions: 'If you don't give, you are bad, people will pull you down'.

Unlike Javaite Poromo, most men have limited resources. Nonetheless, they follow the same rules of gift exchange as he whose resources are infinite. He is the model all must follow. Now, from the tale quoted above, it is clear that the hero accepts the notion of debt: the hospitality he had received created a debt he was obliged to repay. The Orokaiva term for this concept is *tihanga*. The repayment of the debt then becomes a 'return' for the gift. The Orokaiva term for 'exchange' (*mine* or *minemine*) is simultaneously the term used to describe the 'return'. No terminological distinction is made between an exchange of gifts, or services, or other amicable prestations on the one hand and an exchange of injuries (murders, sorcery, thefts, etc.) on the other. The term for retribution as well as reward is *minemine*. In speeches by Orokaiva ideologists who wish to criticise the old order (where vendettas were just as prevalent as gift exchange) the term *minemine* is regularly used in the merely negative sense of the old days where a clan killing an enemy was thought to 'owe' a death to that enemy's clan and the enemy had a recognised right to make such retribution.

The Javaite Poromo rules about the recognition and estimation of *tihanga* are complex. Balance is a basic factor, once it is recognised that *tihanga* has been incurred. When a return gift re-establishes balance, it is called *inono* (enough). Just what quantity counts as *inono* depends on context. All else being equal, gifts should be exactly balanced (*perukari*). Thus, at a feast taro bundles are, at some stage, tied to a pole. The height of the food pile is marked on the pole. So is the height of food pile that is received in return. Balance then means that the height of the two piles should be the same. The term *isapa* (little, too little) is used to signify that in the view of the recipient, the

19: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

III

The above outline of the glories of *hande* and the pains of *tihanga* present a model remarkably like Sahlins's 'balanced exchange', but drawn from what one might call Orokaiva ethnosociology. This Orokaiva model is, however, no more than a first lesson in reciprocity. My informants, immediately after telling and explaining the Javaite Poromo tale, proceeded to a second lesson on what they considered a slightly more advanced level. This was prefaced by: 'I should like to tell you why we tell the story of Javaite Poromo'. It soon turned into the recounting of another myth, complete with commentaries and explanations.

A handsome young man came to a village, married a girl but instead of taking her to a village, he took her deeper and deeper into the bush. It turned out that he was, in fact, a pig who had merely disguised himself as a man for the visit to the village. They lived in the bush where she had a son from him who was a white cockatoo (*agena*). As the pig, together with his friends, now wished to kill the woman, she took refuge, with her son, on a *peromba* tree. When the pigs proceeded to try and uproot the *peromba* tree the mother sent her son to her native village with a message. When he returned, the pigs had almost uprooted the tree, but they fled safely, the mother in the son's beak. As they arrived, the mother warned her kinsmen to expect the pig shortly.

When the pig arrives, he is fully and impressively decorated as before—the tale mentions specifically his fine tapa cloth, his *ganda*, his pineapple club, his headdress of red cockatoo feathers, his shield. The kinsmen convey him to a platform with ceremonial greetings appropriate to a visiting affine, fall upon him with spears, cut him into small pieces and eat him.

The commentary given by informants briefly shows the link between this tale and the question of reciprocity. It was by the killing of the pig, informants said, that the present relationship between pig and man was at last established—they kill us; we kill them; they are given to the land for us to eat. This is in contrast with relations between men, based on mutual visits and friendship. This contrast between pig/man and man/man relationships is not in the body of the text, but its relevance was pointed out to me by the two informants.

It will be fully clear to any initiated Orokaiva why this tale explains the principle of reciprocity. It is also probably quite clear to any trained anthropologist. I think, however, that I am obliged to offer a translation into western jargon. The tale is not for children but, it is implied, for initiated men, i.e. those who have a knowledge of spirits. Uninitiated people think that the strange decorated figures one sees at certain ceremonials are spirits, because they have the plumes of birds, the paint of the dead and the bone and shell ornaments of the ancestors. This is not so; these figures are all men disguised as spirits and ancestors. These disguises ought to be so perfect that the person beneath them is not recognisable. In any case, if anyone recognises them, it would be very rude to make this known. They must be respected in every way as though they were the ancestors they represent. The initiated, however, know that the living man and the ancestor are both present in the decorated man.

19: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Now who were these ancestors? They were all human but at the same time they might inhabit the body of an animal or borrow some of an animal's bodily characteristics. Such a tendency would go with a very particular affinity with the animal in question, a partaking in its powers. Many stories are therefore told of ancestors with such affinities. As for pig stories, the most famous is that of Totoima, a man who on occasion wore pigs' tusks and then was murderous in the extreme. When he was finally killed, his body was cut into many pieces and the men who ate from it multiplied miraculously and became the ancestors of great tribes. Another story, of which only a very incomplete version survives today,[6] concerns a 'pig-man' who had assumed the body of a pig but was really a man. Men built a house for him and gave him taro for which he gave them real pigs in exchange. Men broke off this exchange, however, and since then men and pigs have not made exchanges. Nonetheless, he is remembered as a great man as he set up the practice of exchanging and was the first to provide men with pigmeat, thus making them strong.

In this time of the ancestors, men and animals exchanged and communicated with each other without restriction. Yet at a certain moment, a strict division began to be made between those with whom one can make exchanges and those who must be regarded as outside exchange. Unless there are such clear limits to exchange, men would never be safe. This is what we learn from the tale quoted above, the subject of which is, as one might say, *The Pig with the Ganda*. Now, as the story is told, this was not a man in the guise of a pig, but it was really a pig. When he came to a village, he changed the various parts of his body into the ornaments that men use even today for ceremonial dress. His bristles changed into the feathers of the red cockatoo, his jaws and teeth changed into the ornament called *ganda*, normally made by men from pigs' tusks and dogs' teeth and held between the teeth when men dance. It was in that guise he could seduce women (see fig. 1).

He changed himself, so to speak, from a real pig into a symbolic pig and was thus indistinguishable from a man who would likewise change himself into a symbolic pig.

It is the case that whenever great exchanges are made between men, they all wear the decorations and disguises given to them by their ancestors. This is necessary because today, men are always at war and harmony between men existed only in the days of the ancestors. During feasts men therefore recreate the world of the ancestors which was the only world of peace. But the pig with the *ganda* must be excluded from such feasts. There must be separation and thus confinement of the world of exchange.

I have given this reconstruction informally, instead of deriving it systematically from the many texts on which it is based. It exemplifies the type of religious discourse which enters into any serious explanations offered by Orokaiva. What it explains, in effect, is 'negative reciprocity', the state of permanent war that exists outside the confined universe of ceremonial exchange. This certainly includes the war between man and nature, but most probably it includes more than that. It is worth remembering that Orokaiva describe the mountain tribes with whom they refuse to make exchanges as

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FIGURE 1. *Ganda*, Northern Province of Papua New Guinea (author's collection).

pereho, meaning bush pigs, a term they used so frequently that the first whites who tried to make ethnographic maps of the Northern District tried to find the exact location of the 'tribe' Orokaiva called the '*pereho*'. It was hard to put on the map, as the *pereho* category included quite different groups according to who was speaking. My concern was here to give the conceptual boundaries of the exchange universe in Orokaiva terms, but there are real geographical boundaries, different for each village, which correspond to such concepts. Williams (1930) already spoke of two systems of Orokaiva morality, one within the 'sympathy group' which is his term for the exchange universe, and another where there is, in principle, a permanent state of total war even though there will always be a few islands where trading partnerships are found.

IV

If semiotic analysis has no difficulty in revealing categories of balanced and negative reciprocity, what about Sahlins's most fruitful and original category, generalised exchange? It is possible to find a category of relations among Orokaiva where it is denied that any *tihanga* is ever recognised. There are plenty of gifts, but no gift would ever be explained as *mine* or *hande mine*. I doubt however whether that particular category corresponds to 'generalised reciprocity'.

It includes, first of all, *hande* on a very small scale, like a single coconut, areca

19: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

NOTES

The data presented here were gathered in the Northern Province of Papua New Guinea in summer 1970 with the help of a research grant from the Canada Council. The paper was first presented at a seminar at the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago. I thank faculty and students at that seminar for their comments, which have led to clarifications of the text.

[1] This article does not discuss what I believe semiotic anthropology to be and what is its relation to French structuralism. The reader is referred to Schwimmer 1977.

[2] It was suggested to me that 'translation rules' may be what Peirce called 'motivations'. Upon reflection, I would suggest that all the constitutive rules of ritualised prestations are concerned with motivations. For instance, taros displayed on a platform at a wedding could be regarded as motivated signs because they are conspicuously part of an 'institution'. If we need a semiotic analogy for 'translation rules', we might say they specify the relation between expression form and expression content in Hjelmslev's sense (1963), where the prestation as message is the expression form and the sentiment immanent in the prestation is the expression content.

[3] MacCormack (1975) rightly remarked on the gap in my monograph (Schwimmer 1973) in respect of the Orokaiva's own rules about reciprocity. There was no reason to expect that he should have been aware that I presented a paper about these rules (Schwimmer 1970). The present article incorporates the main data of that paper, as well as of a later paper presented in Paris in 1974, on the occasion of a conference of French and Canadian ethnographers at the Musée des Arts Populaires.

[4] Two tribes neighbouring Orokaiva have myths concerning figures closely resembling Javaite Poromo, but far from being simple moral tales, these are elaborate myth cycles whose heroes, Wasis for the Ai'i and Ine for the Omie, are said to be the principal exemplars for the 'big man' system in those tribes. Data on these myth cycles were gathered by two Toronto graduate students, namely T. N. Barker for the Ai'i and M. Rohatynskyj for the Omie.

[5] See for instance Fortune (1935) for Manus and Meggitt (1967: 1971) for Mae Enga.

[6] The story is in F. E. Williams's Notebooks now stored in the government archives at Port Moresby and the property of the government of Papua New Guinea. Cf. Notebook W 56 for 1923, quoted in Schwimmer 1973: 140.

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21: Belshaw E-5 (1951) 1951 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23
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121 with limited horizons, so that they may be translated into realistic programmes given available resources. Applied anthropologists should be able to tell when administrators are pressing too hard, or, conversely, not giving enough lead; and what stresses and strains are likely to result when this is the case. To a certain extent this can be done quite rapidly by systematizing the enquiry and concentrating on critical points such as violence or non-violence in family relations, adequacy of resources, and a genealogical approach to land tenure and inheritance. But applied anthropology must attempt to go further than pointing to critical phases of an already-evolving policy. It should be able to evolve a theory which would enable the administrator to avoid or at least adequately reduce crises before they occur; in other words to predict. The existence of numerous variables may be a valid excuse for not achieving perfect accuracy; but the time has come to write our theory in terms of social change, and in such a way that it can be tested in administrative practice, which is anthropological experiment.

NOTE

[773] The following legend, recorded in a Patrol Report by Mr. Atkinson in 1948, is not without interest:

Long ago a man, a woman and a dog went up into the area which was then flat land with no hills. The man wished to have intercourse with the woman and she consented, thereby doing wrong. They did not return to the village but lived in the area. The people did not see them again but periodically used to ask how they were by shouting into the bush. First they learnt the dog had died, then the man (the man's spirit told them the last fact). The hills appeared and it was always cold and wet on top. It is not good for people to go into the area.

CYRIL S. BELSHAW.

PART I: INFLUENCES EXTERNAL TO THE COMMUNITY

CHAPTER 1: The Eruption and Evacuation of Survivors

Section 1: Mount Lamington: Cosmic Centre and Volcano

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● 773 Mount Lamington has long had, to the Orokaiva people, a significance somewhat similar to that of Mount Olympos to the Ancient Greeks. It is the omphalos kosmou of Orokaiva myth: the origin of death, warfare, fire--and generally of all those cultural elements established by the transforming deities--are traced to the Mountain, while the division of the people into distinct language groups is likewise a primordial event that occurred on the Mountain.
[775] The departed spirits of the Orokaiva have their home there, headed by the first man to have suffered death, Sumbiripa, to whom all the activity of the Mountain is ascribed. Signs from Sumbiripa reach the living regularly, because at all times the Mountain has rumbled and sent forth tremors and smoke.

These facts appear clearly from the cycle of myths, centred on the Mountain, collected by me in the vernacular in 1966-1967. The cycle is far too elaborate to be explained as a recent development. It might, however, be argued that before the disaster of 1951, the omphalos kosmou was located elsewhere and that it has since been "relocated" to Mount Lamington. The fact that F. E. Williams was unaware of the mythical importance of Mount Lamington gives some force to that contention. As against this there is the testimony of missionaries (Tomlin, 1951; Benson, 1955) who knew the Orokaiva well before the eruption and who had no doubt that Mount Lamington
[776] was then regarded as the home of the dead. Even more conclusive are statements from numerous informants at Hohorita and Sivepe, all of whom interpreted the eruption as the work of Sumbiripa, the Lord of the Dead, who lived in the Mountain.

[774] Does this mythology provide evidence for previous volcanic eruptions? Marie Reay, who was in the district at the time of the eruption, found that "the natives had no knowledge, or legend, of an earlier eruption." (Quoted in Taylor 1958; 21.) I wonder, however, whether in those chaotic days she had much opportunity to make a systematic study of the mythology. I collected a myth of the origin of death which is certainly suggestive of earlier volcanic activity though it is impossible to be sure of the physical phenomena to which it alludes. I recorded four versions of this myth in full vernacular texts, one from Sivepe, one from Torogota (another village in the Sasembata area), one from Hohorita and one from a

823 collection of vernacular texts written by a young man from Kierota
•773 in 1952 (White, n.d.).

According to all versions, a man named Sumbiri and his wife Suja went hunting on the Mountain. They stayed there for several weeks, while the husband caught wallaby and cuscus and found some birds' eggs. In three of the versions, the Mountain began to rise while Sumbiri (ignoring a taboo) slept with his wife. Several crags then formed on one of which the couple was lodged, unable to climb down. Separated from the world, they leapt into the crater that had formed between the crags. The fourth version, collected at Mohorita and belonging to the Sangara tribe, describes a fight between a pig (presumably the first pig ever hunted by man) and a large dog or dogs, during which the mountain began to change shape. Originally it was "one Mountain but now it became divided into parts so that there remained a number of peaks too steep to climb up or down." Pig and dog(s) disappeared into the hole that was formed; the man and woman found themselves separated on different crags and died of loneliness and despair. The mountain is called Sumbiripa Kanekari, "The Separation of Sumbiripa." This Sangara version is notably the richest in mythological content.

[174] Is it possible that these versions all originated after the eruption? Though it cannot be ruled out, it seems unlikely. One of them was written down by a student mission teacher as early as 1952; the Sivepa version recorded by me presents the mythical event and the eruption of 1951 as two distinct successive events. None of the events that most deeply impressed people about the eruption of 1951 (explosion, flame, darkness, wind, deaths) are incorporated at all in any of the versions. It seems more likely that the myth refers to an event remote in time and not remembered more clearly than most modern Europeans are aware of the factual basis of the Book of Genesis. Nonetheless, the myth points to an earlier structural change in the Mountain, caused by volcanic activity, and sufficiently recent to have left some impact on human memory.

Section 2: Preliminaries of the Eruption

133 For some time prior to the eruption, Mount Lamington behaved
731 rather unusually. Orokaiva and Europeans each gave their own explanations for this unusual behaviour. The Europeans, being politically more powerful, were able to impose their plan on the Orokaiva. The Europeans felt no qualms in doing so, as they regarded their own views to be scientifically based, whereas the Orokaiva view was based on the presumed anger of Sumbiripa. As we shall see, this was a case where bad science was more dangerous than sound superstition.

accept, as genuinely held by the Hohorita people at the present time, a view of history according to which the Orokaiva had only small gardens before the Europeans introduced axes and knives; it was only then that people started to make feasts, stopped eating wild fruit, etc. Here informants credited to Europeans innovations traditionally ascribed to their own culture heroes. During the same interview, I was told the people used to build houses by making a fence and putting leaves on top. The present house types, I was told, were introduced by Europeans. It so happened that this statement was substantially correct.

From these few examples (more data of the same kind could be quoted), it is already clear that the Orokaiva perceive some resemblance between the Europeans and their own culture heroes. The Orokaiva ascribe whatever cultural goods they possess to the action of culture heroes who brought them these goods in primeval time. This applies not only to material knowledge (the making of fire, houses, clothes, the growing of crops, etc.) but also to social behaviour (institutions of warfare, marriage, feasting, etc.). The Europeans manifestly brought with them innovations of the same scope. Like the culture heroes in the myths, the Europeans have many valuable new things, but they are reluctant to give them to the Orokaiva. They prefer to keep them for themselves. Occasionally, though, they do give some of them away, or are willing to trade them, or are successfully tricked into sharing them. One of the recent gifts for which the Orokaiva are especially grateful are the Local Government Councils. I asked some of the most experienced councillors whether they were able to conduct the councils according to their own ideas or were forced to follow ideas laid down by the government. I was told that the councils came "not from ourselves but from the administration. We don't know about the council. It belongs to the administration. It was given to the village people." The council was given much in the same way as fire had been given by a culture hero.

Beneficial though the Europeans undoubtedly are, they are also perceived as exasperating and dangerous: exasperating because of their refusal to share their goods, to set up proper relationships with the people and to adopt proper customs; dangerous because of the power of the police, the prisons, and--most of all--the Christian God. It is from this viewpoint that we should regard the Orokaiva interpretation of the Mount Lamington eruption as reported by Belshaw and Keesing. Belshaw reports that most Orokaiva explanations of the eruption were religious in nature: "Some people said that this was God's visitation because they had disobeyed the Bishop's instructions to build new churches. Others said that God had punished them because they had not helped the Allies sufficiently during the war and because some of them had betrayed missionaries to the Japanese . . . This sense of guilt is a most important factor in resettlement attitudes." (1951: 242) Keesing agrees with this summary, adding that the eruption resulted in "strong feelings of insecurity and even of guilt in their

621 social distance also. Relations between Inonda and Ureo or Hohota,
628 from which Inonda recruited wives, were distinctly less friendly than those prevailing between, say, Sivepe, Garombi and Binduta. (See my doctoral dissertation and also Hogbin, 1966.)

If we seek an explanation for the far greater heterogeneity
563 of Inonda, we find two historical causes in this sample: a war and
621 a disaster. The link with Kendata came through the Managalasi man;
167 the links with Sangara came as a result of the eruption of Mt. Lamington. Admittedly, this Sangara link was of a modern type, the central figure being a mission teacher. The residential pattern however is ancient: due to some vicissitude, a man settled with his affines; this led to further marriages between his village of origin and his village of residence. He was given enough land to cultivate for subsistence. In this case, the Sangara immigrant still quoted his own clan name when asked; the Managalasi man did not.

If we go back a little further in the history of Sivepa, even only one generation beyond the present residents, we find much the
[727] same pattern as still survives in Inonda. The capturing of young
[423] orphans was a commonplace event among the Orokaiva, as were also migrations to escape from enemies. Sometimes the fugitives or the orphans returned eventually to their village of origin, looking for a friendly relative who was willing to meet their claims to the land of their fathers. In going back a few generations into the past, one never knows for certain who is a new immigrant and who is a claimant for ancient rights.

The tendency is always to obliterate the traces of alien origin, to drop alien phonetical habits and alien use of grammar and
[723] vocabulary as soon as possible. On the other hand, myths of the place of origin will still be transmitted to the children, so that anyone collecting tales among the Orokaiva will be presented with a variety of versions of different local origin. Many of the best ones I collected were of Kiorota origin because the father of old man who told the stories came from that district about 45 years ago. Furthermore, the links with the place of origin are rarely broken off, not even in the case of women or babies who were abducted as war captives. The immigrant wishes to keep alive his land rights in his place of origin. The people of his native village in return wish to exploit any advantages there may be in the connection between their absent clansman and his hosts. This connection will be kept alive by further intermarriages.

Immigrants and their descendants therefore retain multiple
167 loyalties. As these loyalties are kept alive over the generations
563 by intermarriage, use of trees in the other village, fishing and hunting rights, and as migration used to be very common before the pax Australiana, such multiple loyalites are extremely common. I am not quite sure how these loyalties fared in time of war, but I understand that if two men who were linked by such relationships found themselves on opposite sides in a war, they were unlikely to fight each other though stories are told of unfortunate accidents. I have

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limit the relevance and power of anthropological study. A cataclysm of such awesome proportions must obviously have had psychological as well as social effects on Orokaiva individuals since the same cataclysm was, after all, experienced in one form or another by everybody. If a culturally homogeneous group has any intellectual facility in the development of common symbols and the transformation of its symbol system, then it is reasonable to suppose that the eruption would have social effects of this less tangible kind.

The Mount Lamington eruption, viewed in this way, offers a case history of theoretical importance. Where the immediate cause of relocation is a natural disaster, we are dealing with contingency in its purest form: an event no sociological (or psychological) theory could possibly predict. Can such an event change the structure of a people's symbolic thought? If it can, then this would cast doubt on any claim that cultural systems are determinate, as they could be changed at any time by unpredictable contingencies. The question whether the content of the symbol systems and social systems of specific cultures is determinate has been raised throughout the work of Lévi-Strauss. Determinacy may be found, however, in the processes of human thought as we seek to comprehend an event, however unpredictable. If our method of understanding humans is the analysis of symbolic thought, then the study of unpredictable contingencies is important in revealing the genesis of symbolic thought.

EXPLANATIONS OF THE DISASTER

I showed in an earlier work that Mount Lamington has long had a central position in the Orokaiva world order (Schwimmer 1969: 5–6). In fact, the Orokaiva regard Mount Lamington as the center of the cosmos. It is the place where, in Orokaiva myth, death, warfare, and fire originated. Many of the transforming deities who are said to have established the rituals and social customs of the Orokaiva came from the crater of this mountain. The division of the populations of the Northern District into tribes or language groups supposedly occurred at the same place. The mountain is called Sumbiripa Kanekari, 'the separation of Sumbiripa', after the myth in which the mountain opened up and split into several unscalable crags. Sumbiripa was hunting on the mountain with

his wife; the two were separated and found themselves on different crags. Sumbiripa became the first man to die, the master of the mountain within which he has since dwelt together with all Orokaiva who died subsequently.[12]

The myth explained the shape of the mountain as it was before the eruption. The crags are not there today because they were blown apart by the eruption. The myth also explained the rumbling of the mountain and the smoke that issued from it long before the eruption of 1951. Such phenomena were regarded as signs sent by Sumbiripa. Ritual prohibitions limited access to the area close to the crater as there was a belief that Sumbiripa, if disturbed, would be angry. There was also a great fear of the dead who were supposedly dwelling in the mountain. It is believed that the dead wander about the countryside, where they may attack humans. Sumbiripa is dangerous, even if he does not erupt, because he can send out his ghosts to cause misfortune among men. The myth about Sumbiripa Kanekari hints at the possibility of an earlier eruption by the account it gives of the origin of the crags existing before 1951.

The sociological importance of the eruption lies largely in the explanations of the event developed afterward by the survivors. These explanations are related to the situation of Orokaiva society in 1951. Here we must distinguish between the situation as it appeared to the Orokaiva individual or to small refugee groups and the collective situation of the Orokaiva tribes as they collectively perceived it, in terms of the basic forces shaping their social life at that period. We may follow Burridge (1960) in identifying these basic forces with the colonial government, planters and traders, the mission, and relations within and between tribal groups.

Immediately after the eruption, the situation for individuals and small groups was dominated by fear of the mountain, grief for dead relatives, and anguish at separation from the land. The situation was influenced, moreover, by abrupt changes in social organization. The Sangara fugitives mostly fled alone or in very small groups, leaving behind their numerous dead; the Sasembata fugitives mostly fled in village groups led by their village constables. While the disaster made the Sangara leaderless, in Sasembata it merely reduced dependence on traditional leaders at the gain of the village constables whose responsibility was greatly increased. Village constables were members of village communities ap-

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eruption met their fate on the very same spot (Higaturu) where the executions took place some years earlier.

I include the Yega explanation in this study because it influenced the total regional communication system from which the Orokaiva derive their basic concepts. What is this regional system? It is certainly not a postcontact introduction, yet it has a very different significance now as compared to the last century.

Williams (1940, n.d.) shows that the external boundaries of the human race, as defined in Orokaiva myths, take in most of the population of the Northern District of Papua but do not extend beyond the Northern District. Internal boundaries drawn in the myths separate this population into a number of mutually hostile language groups, each specializing in the production or supply of certain distinctive products. It was an integral part of Orokaiva social thought to hold that permanent peace was impossible between the groups thus separated, although a truce was occasionally established and trade and intermarriage were regular occurrences. In this respect, the Cargo Cults of the early postcontact period (the Baigona Cult in 1912 and the Taro Cult in 1914) marked a radical innovation. The chief social message, especially of the Taro Cult, was that villages and tribes hitherto divided by strife should be united in brotherhood. The cult taught that the traditional tribal boundaries should be disregarded and all Papuans of the region were one people. This idea started in the coastal region but soon spread from there to Orokaiva territory (see Chinnery and Haddon 1917; Williams 1928).

At the time of the eruption, the coastal people were again involved in a millennial movement, the Christian Cooperative, which was spreading throughout the Orokaiva tribes. While tribal boundaries were a source of anxiety in all the evacuation camps (though the anxiety was more acute among Sangara relocated on the coast than among Orokaiva relocated at Ilimo), the possibility of a further development of the Christian Cooperative was still open, and this would have involved general acceptance of the Yega explanation of the disaster.

Comparing the Orokaiva and Yega explanations, we note that the cause of the eruption in both cases is the anger of Sumbiripa, although the Yega explanation is not entirely explicit on this point. Furthermore, both explanations take a rather negative view of European power—one by ignoring it, the other by making it the ob-

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731 10. Compare this with the school at Sasembata, which teaches to grade six.

871 11. A small band of Orokaiva captured European fugitives, including male and female missionaries, and handed them over to the Japanese. The members of this band came from the area east of Mount Lamington inhabited by what Williams called the Sauaha tribe.

731 184 182 12. Though the Sumbiripa cycle of myths was not noted by Williams, I feel confident it existed prior to 1951, partly on evidence given in Schwimmer (1969) and partly on the evidence of a myth recorded in Belshaw (1951).

823 773 13. For sources on Orokaiva leadership, see Reay (1953) and Schwimmer (1967).

731 [829] [101] 14. The term "Waseta tribe" used by Williams is perhaps unfortunate, as I demonstrated elsewhere (Schwimmer 1969:49–53). It is used here for the sake of convenience to group together the people from the Waseta area, all of whom were quartered at Ilimo evacuation camp. The name "Waseta" is not used as a tribal name by Orokaiva; it denotes no more than the village where Williams happened to do his fieldwork.

[184] [823] 15. See also Waddell and Krinks (1968:16, fn. 3). In the final section of this chapter, I argue that the geophysical explanation is important for anthropological analysis, since it foreshadows structural change in the Orokaiva cognitive system.

731 184 829 16. These two oppositions are, as I understand it, singled out for detailed study in most of the chapters in this comparative volume. Unfortunately, a more detailed discussion is impossible in this chapter. Transactions between government and people during the relocation process have been described fully in Schwimmer (1969), including the massive administration intervention in the evacuation camps, the changes of location of government and mission centers after the eruption, and the gradual widening of the scope of government and mission activities. In my earlier report, I also referred in detail to the manner in which the relation between whites and Papuans is mediated by Papuan mission teachers, village constables, and other functionaries. On an ideological level the entire 'new age' rhetoric discussed in this chapter may be regarded as a form of mediation between microsystem and macrosystem.

[619] With regard to boundary maintenance, empirical evidence is available in my earlier report about the relations between the evacuees and the people among whom they lived. At Ilimo something akin to traditional friendly host-guest relations were established. I stress in the present essay the ambiguity of the boundary maintenance patterns. There is an ideology advocating unity and there is increasing evidence of common action, especially in the context of formal organizations set up under the influence of administration and mission, while individual webs of intertribal relationships tend to become denser as a result of migration associated with schooling, employment, and so forth. At the same time, tribalism is still the underlying principle in most transactional contexts.

731 423 425 17. This does not contradict my earlier statement (1969:66) that there was a brief period when the evacuees feared the government would take their land. Kaad reported to me that this fear existed, and I do not doubt it. In

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602 The Orokaiva say that the *dambo* relation, although similar in many respects, is colder, more formal than the *simbo* relation. If a man dies in war, his *simbo* will die with him. The same intensity of feeling was not expressed about agnates. The feeling is the same where female *simbo* are concerned, except that "women cannot always do what men do." *Simbo* relations were especially important during the period of courting, war-like raids, and bravery in collecting war trophies.

602 572 The *simbo* relation resembles in many ways the kind of friendship described by Paine (this volume, pp. 117–37). There is a sense of worth having a *simbo* as a companion. The relationship is oriented towards what is regarded as the great things in life, principally love and war. It does not tolerate bargaining of any kind. It is not competitive exchange because *simbo* are not supposed to compete or exchange; it is not strictly cooperative either, as it does not bear the burdens of everyday obligations characteristic of the domestic unit. The taboos effectively separate *simbo* from each other on this everyday plane. In the mythical texts, we find an aspect of *simbo* [773] relations not stressed in ideology: in them, the *simbo* are forever playing nasty tricks on each other, depriving each other of benefits that are requested, and stealing each other's girls. But in such tales, virtue tends to win in the end. They form a charter, in Malinowski's sense, for the rules about *simbo* behaviour.

In the *philia* universe, *simbo* occupy a special position; namely a rejection or negation of both the cooperative and the competitive modes. The cooperative mode, taken by itself, leads to entropy; the competitive mode, taken by itself, leads to perpetual conflict. The *simbo* relation is a synthesis of the two, as is reasonable enough if one remembers it is symbolically equivalent to marriage, as analysed by Aristotle.

572 608 [551] Fictive *simbo* bonds are sometimes created between non-kin who are engaged in an appropriate common enterprise and who desire to express their mutual warmth of feeling. Such a relationship gives friends a kind of explicit claim on each other's property and services. Because of the name taboo which applies loosely in these non-kin bonds, *simbo* tend to address each other by special names known as *simbo* names.

For instance, one morning I was working on a task with a Papuan friend, when a visitor entered with a gift of eating bananas. My friend broke off a twin banana and shared it with me. "Now we are *be pije*" (banana men), he said, explaining that this was one of the *simbo* names most frequently used. If the two friends happen to find a twin areca nut, they become *be sa* (areca men); similarly one finds *be hinga* (pepper men) *be junga* (fig men) and so on. The relationship is extended to the wives of the fictive *simbo*, who become known as *ka pije*, *ka sa*, and so on. Thus, my wife became my friend's "banana girl." While such a relationship was not explicitly described as hereditary, it is easy to see how it can be transmitted from generation to generation.

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between the other two. Their existence is known, but some will not see their cognitive genesis. They tend to arise as they are logically implied by the two dominant ones; anyone who does not like 1 and 2 cannot help but think of 3 or 4 or both.

Identification in the Creation of Use Values

When Councillor Colin said that '*pure ari*' did not begin until Jesus Christ (i.e. people did not 'work' before that time) he ignored that *pure ari* in its primary meaning stands for 'to garden' and *pure* is a garden. From an empirical viewpoint we know exactly what goes on in a Sivepe garden, as Waddell has carefully measured it. The daily visit to the garden described by informants as *pure ali* takes a mean of 265 minutes of which 'main task' and 'ancillary tasks' take up in all 44.2% (Waddell and Krinks 1968: 113). The rest is devoted to travel, rest, meals, cooking, washing, other tasks. People always go to the *pure*; they do what they need to do. The amount of 'work' they have does not determine how long they stay. Sometimes they 'work' very hard, sometimes hardly at all.

The gardening tasks are done at a moderate pace which is pleasurable. Rushing and heavy burdens are avoided when possible, but when they are necessary they are classified as 'toil' (*pure gaiha*) and people rest later to make up for it. The only time measures used are: early morning, midday, afternoon (meaning: time to go home) and evening-night (meaning: after supper). Though gardens have a principal crop, mostly taro, the subsidiary crops, ornamental trees, garden house etc. are charmingly landscaped so that the garden is in a sense an artistic creation (Malinowski 1935; F. Panoff 1969). Whether rows are regular and what is the general standard of husbandry are very much individual matters. It is said that by looking at a person's garden one can read his or her character. Among the Orokaiva the girls are said always to look at a boy's garden before marrying him. De Coppet (1976) reports the same for the Are'are of Malaita, except that it is the girls who are more under scrutiny. The criteria would partly be the style of the garden, showing a pattern of mind, but also and largely the size of the garden, the size and the health of the plants, the quality of the varieties.

One could keep on with such description for a long time without coming closer to defining garden work as a concept. Myths and rites prescribe details of the gardening cycle for each of the principal crops while at the same time establishing identification between grower and crop: taro is a mother; a mother Taro is invoked; married women think of their taro as their children. The

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taro ancestress is usually described as discovering the taro in a lake or other 'round water'. The demigod Totima comes closest to providing a general model of the primeval world of the swidden agriculturist and pig-raiser. Like Prometheus he is a sacrificial figure.[16]

Totoima was at the origin of the feasting institution (though there are other myths of the origin of feasting). It is here that questions of moral values mostly arise as feasting (*ergo* peace making) is the moral act *par excellence*. A direct connection is laid between the virtue of settling conflict and of feasting on the one hand and the fertility and yield of the garden on the other, as enemies are thought to ensorcell the gardens. Another important factor was the 'care' (*simbari*) (a general term covering magical as well as technical aspects) taken of the garden. The eldest male of the extended family, as father of the land, had a special duty as regards *simbari*. Garden magic was, however, made by all married males; they also made gifts to ancestors, who were thought to live in gardens and be reborn from there.

The model of the virtuous man was he who shared out his produce and made feasts (*hande embo*). Such a man would grow a surplus of food in a feasting garden. His power (*ivo*) would be manifest in the abundance of his pigs and taro. The model of the 'active man' would be the organizer of feasts in which the whole village participated (*kiti jigari embo*). Subordinate to him, but still high in reputation, would be experts at sorcery, healing, feather decoration and various forms of hunting, as well as those excelling in debate, rhetoric and diplomacy (*keari embo*).[17]

Identification occurred not only with crops, gods and ancestors, but also with trees harbouring local spirits, plant emblems harbouring lineage ancestors, animal guardians and plant doubles which were kept in the garden (usually surrounded by medicinal herbs) and contained the owner's life spirit, or perhaps name-spirit for the man bore the plant's name. A more complex aspect of identification with pigs and feast gardens is that such produce is destined to be given away, i.e. the owner expects to lose control over it; yet the donor remains identified with it and it calls for a return.[18] The same is true for the range of manufactures (clothes, pots, ornaments) that change hands at feasts.

The pattern described here is characteristic of what Sahlins (1974) called the domestic mode of production. Such a system produces, in his opinion, nothing but use values, even if they are 'exchanged' at feasts, for such 'exchange' is symbolically equivalent to a temporary extension of commensality. Slightly more complex

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241 Time is therefore a highly inappropriate measure of useful activity
461 in Orokaiva gardens. Whether *simbari* is effective or ineffective does not depend just on the time spent. It depends on the warding off of sorcery and hence on ensuring one has no dangerous enemies. It depends on harmony in the family. It depends on avoiding straying pigs, not just by building fences but by being the kind of person into whose garden one does not want one's pigs to stray. The anthropological observer notices a certain selectiveness in Orokaiva pigs . . .

554 A great man, or a manager, is not always a gardener. He may be
461 a sorcerer. But if he is a gardener he is a great gardener. He accomplishes his garden as a craftsman accomplishes a model, an ΕΙΔΟΣ, or as Orokaiva say, an *ove*. His image of the world is not
[773] dark like that of Hesiod or of Adam's curse. An Orokaiva inform-
[177] ant once recorded for me on tape his version of the relevant portion of Genesis:

[539] "You will bear children, lift string bags, draw water; you will do all those things and be loaded down with sorrow, so He said; and then He spoke to her husband Adam thus: You will take the axe, cut the second growth, chop down the trees, lop off the branches. In the hot sun, in sorrow, with pain all over your body, you will labour hard." He said.

He thereupon determined that Eve and Adam spoke thus: "This is the way we shall all wish to act on earth: our bodies will be painful from work; and the women as well as the men will be in pain and sorrow from hard work. And as our food will be prepared and ready we stay to eat. All right we did not know that God would not let us have what we had taken and eaten."

Therefore God said to them: "Long will be the day of sorrow when you have sorrow, but when you have happy days you will be happy." So he said. Therefore we shall live in this way from now onwards . . ."

This interpretation is not, I believe, merely garbled. It is a clear message that the Orokaiva just will not understand why, after working hard in the sun, they should afterwards eat their bread or taro in sorrow. To them, this is not a mere question of how they would feel, but a moral matter. Whoever wrote the original of this text was obviously lacking in respect for bread or targo.

Daniel de Coppet (1976) rightly suggested gardening in Melanesia was a religious act, like a sacrament, as is also eating the produce. Whatever pain there may be is sacramentally transformed. Man feels his unity with the Taro goddess and also with the garden and the crop.

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13. This method of setting up semiotic domains for study is probably due to Lévi-Strauss, long before it became canonized as part of the science of semiotics (Eco 1972). See also Schwimmer (1977a), for an Orokaiva example.
14. The term 'manager' instead of the tedious 'big man' is due to Burridge (1969) and is heartily recommended to practitioners.
15. I briefly analyzed Williams' Kutubu study (Williams 1976), but missed the full implications of the myth cycle reported by Williams. A re-reanalysis of that work, with full use of the myths, is overdue.
16. See for a first analysis Schwimmer (1973), later supplemented by Schwimmer (1974a) (coconut, areca and taro) and (1979a) (pigs).
17. A discussion of work specialization among Orokaiva (of which there is but little) will be found in Schwimmer (1967). An interesting type of specialist not so far described is the expert body decorator (Schwimmer 1973: 177, 185) to whom the ritual payment of a pig is due when he officiates, and who appears to officiate regularly at initiations.
18. For a full discussion of the concepts involved see Schwimmer (1979a).
19. The text: "*Umo meni ingesoa, eti atimbasoa, I umbasoa, umo timbasoa; donda deire tapa amo aisi oa eto tunga osaga umbasoa.' Ainge ena. Ainge ivu ta ena: 'Adam, umo ainge hogoro umbasoa, andage aisi oa eto I gaipi oa, pure firembasi oa; iji vevere tunga osago hamo memega re tapa pure gaiha aisi oa.' Ainge ena. Ainge eto ikena avo embo Eave te Adam te ainge ena: 'Ainge dombo dago tapa endata emo ainge do aisi uje eagora: pure te deire amo tapa hamo memega te tunga osaga te tapa pamone ainge ga earora, dago embo ainge hamo memega te tunga osaga te tapa pure gaiha avo earora. Eto donda matu nunuga ena avo indie truetera avo. Aravorate, ungo kiaekiae eto God na taekena avo umbuto India. Aravo embo eto avo God ena: 'Avo iji koso ami tunga osaga iji tunga osaga aisi ova, ainge tunga javatoho iji amo tunga javatoho aisi ova.' Ainge ena. Avo embo dago tapa emo oroho emite ue irora.*" Robert, Sivepe, 1966.
20. The text: "*Embo handa pirisi embo na punduto umbuto, sokova ari ke eto umbuto, Kokoda pambuo, koto ea, aramiko pure mo aravora.*" Councillor Colin, Tórogota, 1966. After describing a number of devices used by magicians and miracles they wrought, Colin continued: "*Avo da pirisi embo na samani eo pambuto re koto ea, amiko donda aravo porakau aravo pure puvuna.*" Translation: Police handcuffed village people and took them to Kokoda if they were believed to be telling lies. Court was held; then they would start work . . . When a summons was issued by the policeman, then those magic things would be put to work.
21. At the time the Waddell and Krinks study was done, only the younger men grew coffee; the authors therefore saw a correlation between age and coffee growing. During my restudy I found this correlation to be false, first because it did not apply to the clan omitted from the earlier authors' chosen sample, and secondly because the oldest men they studied began to grow coffee shortly after their departure. The substitution of German taro (*xantosoma* sp.) for classical taro (*colocasia* sp.)